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OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

JANUARY

TO

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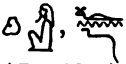
P. LE PAGE RENOUF (*President*). The God , , ,  111, 112

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION, 1896.

First Meeting, 14th January, 1896.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

REV. JAMES MARSHALL, M.A.,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the last Meeting, held on the 3rd December, 1895:—

W. H. Brown, B.A., London, 21, Cambridge Street, Eccleston Square.
John Stanton, Chorley, Lancashire.
Rev. C. H. W. Johns, Queens' College, Cambridge.
James Wheeler, Chardmore Road, Upper Clapton.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:—

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Public Libraries (Basil Anderton, B.A., Chief Librarian).

Doctor Ceriani, The Ambrosian Library, Milan, was elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on February the 4th:—

Arthur E. Fardon, Vaudry Bank, Fleetwood.
William G. Jones, 6, Ashfield Terrace West, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

A Paper was read by Dr. Gaster on "Some Unique Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts of the Bible, of the 9th or 10th Century," which will be printed in a future Part of the *Proceedings*.

Several of these interesting manuscripts were exhibited by Dr. Gaster, having a peculiar and well marked style of coloured borders to the pages, as well as within the lines of text. There were also exhibited a number of other MSS. of Bibles and Prayer Books, showing the styles of decoration ordinarily used at certain dates.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

Remarks were added by Dr. Friedlander, Mr. W. G. Thorpe, Dr. Gaster, and the Chairman.

The Secretary's Report, and the Statement of Receipts and Expenditure to the 31st December, 1895, were received and adopted.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1895.

It has been my duty during the year just passed, to notice from time to time the heavy loss the Society has suffered by the death of some of its distinguished Members. It must be a subject of great regret to all to see the ranks thus thinned.

The number on the roll of Members has, however, been fairly maintained; still, it is in every way desirable that it should be increased; a most desirable addition could easily be obtained if every individual Member, or even a large portion of those now on the list, *would each make the effort to secure at least one new Member.* I have to thank many who recognize this duty as one they owe to the Society, for their efforts, and it is to be hoped that others will realize the same duty, and make an effort to give some help.

The twenty-fifth session of the Society commenced on November, 1894, but, according to the recently adopted and more convenient arrangement, the seventeenth volume includes the *Proceedings* issued from January to December, 1895. The publications therefore now form an annual volume.

The Society is certainly to be congratulated on the number of Papers and shorter communications which have been printed; their interest is not unequal to those of former years. It is to be hoped, however, that the personal efforts of all those interested in the Society will, by increasing the number of Members, enable the Council to print many other original texts, which are only waiting the time when the cost of publication is forthcoming.

Classing the Papers according to subjects, it may be well to take, in the first place, those which more directly refer to matters connected with the Bible; many of these are of peculiar interest, and I may state that the authors have kindly consented to submit their researches in similar subjects to the Society during the present and future sessions.

REV. DR. LÖWY: On the Pre-Mosaic Culture of the Hebrews (read in February and April). REV. J. MARGOLIOUTH: The Divine Name יהוה (February). REV. DR. GASTER: An Unknown Aramaic Original of Theodotion's Additions to the Book of Daniel (February); Part III, the Commentary. REV. C. J. BALL, M.A.: The Name Shinar, Genesis xi, 2, and the meaning of רמרת of Genesis xliii, 11 (April). REV. C. J. BALL, M.A.: The Testament of Jacob, Genesis xlix. (May). JOHN E. GILMORE and P. LE P. RENOUF (*President*): Coptic Fragments of Genesis xiii and xiv, and Psalm cv (November).

Of Papers dealing with the antiquities and mythology of Egypt, the number submitted has been in excess of those of former years. The President has continued his translation and commentary of the Book of the Dead. It must not be forgotten that this is the only complete translation that has been issued.

The title of the Papers are as follows:—P. LE P. RENOUF: The Book of the Dead, additional note to chapter CIX and Chapters CXI to CXVI (January), Chapter CX (February); Notes, Chapter X (March); Chapters CXVII to CXXIII (April); Chapter CXXIV (May); Chapter CXXV, Parts I and II (November); Part III (December). The Bow in the Egyptian Sky, Part II (January). Human Sacrifice, and the Theory of Substitution in Egyptian and other Ancient Religions (March). Note on Length and Breadth in Egyptian (May). E. LEFÈBURE, Étude sur l'Abydos, un dialogue des Morts: le chapitre d'amener la Barque: traduction et commentaire (March). DR. A. WIEDEMANN: An Inscription of the time of Amenophis the IVth (April). Two Monuments with a Votive Formula for a Living Person (May). MISS M. A. MURRAY: The Descent of Property in the Early Periods of Egyptian History (November). ALFRED C. BRYANT, B.A., and F. W. READ: Akhuenaten and Queen Tii (November) PROFESSOR DR. KARL PIEHI: Notes de Philologie Égyptienne (*continued*) (November). PROFESSOR DR. AUG. EISENLOHR: Egyptian Chronology (December). WALTER L. NASH, F.S.A.: Bronze Figure of Isis with silver head covering (May). PROFESSOR PAUL PIERRET: La Coudée Royale du Musée Égyptienne du Louvre (May).

Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities have not been neglected, and I am happy to be able to state that other Papers will be brought before the Society during the present year.

ROBERT BROWN, JUNR., F.S.A.: Euphratean Stellar Researches, Part IV (January); Part V, The Archaic Lunar Zodiac (*to be continued*). S. ARTHUR STRONG: Additional Note on a Fragment of the Adapa Legend (January). THEO. G. PINCHES: The Lament of the "Daughter of Sin," illustrated with the text (February); Water Rate in Ancient Babylonia (December). S. ARTHUR STRONG: Some Assyrian Alliterative Texts (April). REV. C. H. W. JOHNS: Sennacherib's Letters to his Father, Sargon (November). PROFESSOR DR. FRITZ HOMMEL: a continuation of his Assyriological Notes (May). PROFESSOR SAYCE: The Karian and Lydian Inscriptions (January); with a further note, which appeared in May.

The best thanks of the Society are due to the many writers who have so willingly given their assistance by giving so varied and interesting series of Papers to the Society.

Of the Large Paper Edition of Mr. Renouf's Translation, with Commentary and Notes, of the Book of the Dead, Parts I, II, III, and IV have been issued to subscribers, and it is very satisfactory to be

able to record that the whole of the edition had been subscribed for before the issue of the fourth part. That the Society should have had the opportunity of issuing this monumental work, the result of the study of many years, is a subject of great congratulation, as also that it should have been so appreciated by scholars. Of the Bronze Ornaments of the Gates of Balawat, Part V, the last and concluding portion, still remains to be issued. If it had not been for the unfortunate illness which seized me last year, the work would have been completed. I hope before many months are over to issue the final part.

The number of kindred Societies with which publications are exchanged has been considerably increased; and others have been purchased by the Council, but it is to be regretted that the funds at their disposal for this purpose are not sufficient to make this department of the Library as complete as could be wished. Many donations of books have also been made by various authors, to whom the best thanks of the Society are due for thus placing their works within the reach of many to whom they may be of real service.

The audited Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1895 shows that the funds available for that year have been £718 8*s.* 2*d.*, and the expenditure for the same period has been £638 6*s.* 4*d.* The balance carried forward from 1894 was £90 4*s.*, and that from the year just ended £80 1*s.* 10*d.*

We have to thank Mr. Walter Morrison, M.P., one of the Vice-Presidents, who has so often generously given assistance, for a substantial addition to our funds. A small amount will also be found entered in the annexed statement of accounts towards the arrears for printing referred to in former Reports. The cost of printing the publications is necessarily very great, and it surely ought to be unnecessary for me to point out year after year, that, in order that the work may be properly carried out, liberal contributions are to be desired from the Members.

W. HARRY RYLANDS,

Secretary.

The thanks of the Society were voted to the President, the Secretary and Officers for their efforts in behalf of the Society.

The following Officers and Council for the current year were elected:—

COUNCIL, 1896.

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P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

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BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

CHAPTER CXXV.

NOTES.

For the significance of this most important chapter with reference to the religion and ethics of ancient Egypt I must refer to the Introduction. The notes in this place must be confined to the text and its elucidation.

No copy of the chapter is known of more ancient date than the eighteenth dynasty, but the oldest papyri contain the three parts of which the chapter consists. That the chapter is of much earlier date than the eighteenth dynasty is quite certain from the nature of the corruptions which had already made their appearance in the earliest copies which have come down to us. But the three parts are not necessarily of the same antiquity. The second part seems to have grown out of the first and to have been suggested by the mention of the "Forty-two" gods and the "negative confession," as it is called, of certain sins. It is a tabulated form in which the gods are named and a sin is mentioned in connection with each god. The number of sins in this form is therefore forty-two; a higher number than in Part I.

The two catalogues agree to a certain extent, but they also disagree, and the second is evidently the result of a different process of thought than that which gave birth to the first. The author of Part I is not the author of Part II, unless perhaps at a different and later period. Nor is there any indication in Part I of the extraordinary examination to which the deceased person is subjected in Part III. This in itself would not be a serious objection, but the

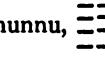
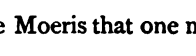
matter becomes more complicated if we remember that the picture of the Psyschostasia has the right to be considered as a part of the chapter. The texts which are written upon it differ, indeed, according to the taste of the artist, and can therefore claim no canonical authority. But the question as to the order of succession in the trials, or the precise moment at which the deceased person is finally freed from all anxiety as to his fate, cannot be satisfactorily solved on the supposition that all these documents form parts of a consistent whole. It seems much more natural to consider them as really independent compositions brought together in consequence of their subject matter. The artists of the Ramseside period (in the papyri of Hunefer and Ani) add another scene * in which the deceased is judged not by the forty-two assessors of Osiris but by a smaller company of gods (twelve or fourteen), sitting on thrones and bearing the names of well known divinities.

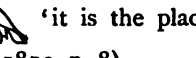
The essential notion was that of a trial before Osiris, in which the man's conduct or conscience was weighed in the Balance. This trial is referred to in various chapters of the Book of the Dead and in other texts which prove that, with reference to the details, free scope was allowed to the imagination of the scribes or artists.

The number of the Forty-two assessors might be thought connected with that of the Nomes of Egypt. But this number is only certain for the later periods of Egyptian history, and is not true for earlier times. Moreover the localities in which the gods are said to make their appearances do not correspond to the nomes, or places within them. Some of the localities occur more than once, and some of them, if not all, are localities not upon earth. Heaven occurs twice, the eleventh god makes his appearance at Amenta and the forty-second in the Netherworld. But the names which have a more earthly sound may have a mystical meaning. The first god makes his appearance in Annu, so does the seventeenth and so does the twenty-fourth. But does this mean Heliopolis of Egypt? On referring to an important text in Mariette's *Monuments Divers*, pl. 46, it will be seen that Annu is the Eastern *Solar Mountain* , where the Sun rises, and where he is saluted by the Powers of the East. There cannot be a more striking illustration of "the

* Apparently suggested by the scene in the tomb of Hor-em-heb (see *Denkm.*, III, 78), in the time of Amenophis III. (Plate XXXII, fig. 15.)

Divine Babe who maketh his appearance in Annu" (the twenty-fourth Assessor), than the *picture* I refer to.*

And Chemunnu,  , is surely not the Hermopolis of Egypt, but the place *of the Eight gods* , four to the Left and four to the Right of the rising sun, who hail his coming and help him to rise; where Shu, according to the MSS. of the 17th Chapter, raises up the Sky, and where "the children of Failure," (that is, shades of darkness) are exterminated. It is not simply of Hermopolis nor yet of Lake Moeris that one may say 



'it is the place of the Eight deities where Rā riseth (*Zeitschr.*, 1872, p. 8).

The same considerations apply to such names as those of Sutenhunen and Tattu.

The presence of the divine "Babe," of the god "of long strides" (Rā), of the god "of Lion form," of the goddess Bast, of Nefertmu, of the "Striker" (*Ahi*, a name of Horus), and of Nehebkau, not to mention others, among the Assessors, would of itself be sufficient to convince us that, in spite of the strange and terrific names of some of these personages, they are not to be looked upon as fiends, like Malacoda, Scarmiglione, and the rest of the demon crew in the Inferno of Dante. They are not evil spirits, but gods, all of them, "subsisting on righteousness;" there is "nothing *wrong* about them."† They are the gods who accompany Osiris, and,

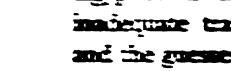
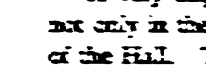
* The picture of the Babe lifted up into the upper world by two divinities speaks for itself. Of the birth of the Sun as the Winged Scarab at the beginning of the first hour of the day, M. Maspero, in his description of the text, says: "Il est salué à ton apparition par les huit .... 'les esprits d'Orient, dieux du ciel, des terres, des pays étrangers, de la montagne d'horizon orientale qui est On.'"

† This is the principle by which to judge the cases of the god *of writhing aspect*, serpentine, or crocodile , and of Uammeta , against both of whom a passage of the 'Book of Hades' (Bonomi, *Sarc.*, pl. II A) has been quoted. The book, of course, is of inferior authority to the 'Book of the Dead,' but in any case it must be remembered that these names, as appellatives, are *common* nouns (*Uammetu* is in the *plural* number in the passage in question), and may simply mean *Serpents*. .

according to Egyptian theology, are his Names, his Limbs, his Body. If the names of some of them appear harsh or cruel, it is because strict Justice is inexorable, and Mercy is a quality never thought of in Egyptian theology.

The exact notion of Maât in Egyptian texts is discussed in another part of the present work. In this chapter I have translated it *Righteousness*, because the question here is about *moral conduct*: and conformity to the strict Rule of Right towards one's fellow men, one's own self and the heavenly powers is what is meant by Righteousness. And here it is opposed to moral transgression or sin, not to physical evil, which itself is a very frequent result from the operation of the inexorable Maât.

But in the expression, "Hall of Righteousness," the word in Egyptian is used in the dual number: hence the erroneous or inadequate translations, "the Two Truths," or "Double Justice," and the guesses which have been made as to their meaning.

A very important determinative of the Egyptian word is found not only in the papyri but in the very earliest mention yet known of the Hall. The great inscription of the tomb of Peher at El Kab, calls it the  . The repetition of the sign ● indicates a locality in which the Sun-god is *present*, as in the cases of  and many others. Space is divided into two parts: one in the Southern and one in the Northern side of the god as he proceeds on his course. And when we have for determinatives two Uraei , or two sacred Feathers , we have to understand two goddesses Maât, one in the Left and one in the Right side of Osiris.

These goddesses are Isis and Nephthys, who play very conspicuous parts in a symbolism discussed in note 2 of the present chapter.

It would be well if evidence could be brought with equal facility to bear upon all the difficulties with which the chapter abounds. But though a very lively interest was attracted to it ever since

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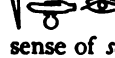
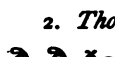
Sun is called by the first of these names at Edfu (Dümichen, *Geogr.* i. p. 109). But even at Denderah (Mariette, *Dend.* pl. 77), this "god of serpent face" is "dissensions in the School," the enemies of Osiris and Ra, and is therefore not one of them.

Champollion quoted extracts from it in his Grammar, the difficulties with which he did not attempt to cope have only increased with our knowledge of the language and its scientific treatment. The text is extremely doubtful in many important parts, the forty-two sins are not the same in all the manuscripts, and they are not assigned to the jurisdiction of the same gods. So important a papyrus as that of Sutimes omits some sins of which an Egyptian would certainly be expected to give an account. The same word is made to appear with different meanings in the same passage of the papyri when they are compared together. And there are not a few important words of which the meaning was first only guessed at by the first translators, but has been retained without sufficient warrant by their successors. The present translation is presented under the full consciousness of all its imperfections, and of the difficulties which have yet to be overcome before a version can be called satisfactory.

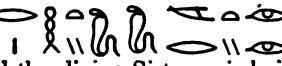
A very admirable contribution towards our acquaintance with the first part of the chapter was made as far back as 1866 by Dr. Pleyte in his *Etudes Egyptologiques*. Since then other versions have appeared by MM. Devéria, Lefébure and Pierret.

The Demotic text of the chapter, first published by Brugsch, and now more recently, with a complete translation, by M. Révillout, is in itself most interesting, but written, as it is, in the days of imperial Rome, cannot always be appealed to as to an authoritative exposition of the ancient text.

1. *The Day of searching examination* or reckoning. The word  has to be compared with the Coptic ϩⲱϯ in the sense of *search, enquiry*, ζητεῖν, ζήτησις. This sense is derived from *a circle* (*sail round*) and the notion of going completely round a thing and approaching it from all sides.

2. *Thou* [literally *he*] of *the Pair of Eyes*  .* This title of Osiris is made clear by the 37th

* The is not to be read *fi* or *fy*. The sign \\ is merely the ideogram of the number 2, like the letter ⲃ in Coptic. The belief in an Egyptian dual with \\ as a final syllable is an illusion, though a very pardonable one, of our grammarians.

chapter, which begins with an invocation to the *Sister Pair of Goddesses, Merta*  , *Merta* signifying *Two Eyes*, and the divine Sister pair being Isis and Nephthys.

In vignettes of the chapter (see, *e.g.*, Pl. XXXIII and XXXIV, figs. 14 and 16 for instances) the two goddesses appear in human form with their brother Osiris within the naos where the judgment is delivered. It is not so easy to recognise them under the form which they have in the vignette of *Pb.* (see Pl. XXXI), or in the picture which is found in many papyri (*e.g.*, those of Nebseni, Hunefer, Ani and the Turin *Todtenbuch*), wherein the cornice or top row of the decoration surmounting the forty-two judges has for central figure a man (Osiris) either supporting the Two Eyes or extending his hands above them (see Pl. XXXIV, fig. 14).

We have here a symbolism of such extreme importance as to justify a short excursus on the subject.

The Two Eyes are a most frequent symbol on all funereal monuments; on the most ancient coffins, such as those of Apaānchu, Antuf, Taka (*Denkm.*, II, 98, 146, 147), Mentuhotep (*Aelteste Texte*, pl. 9 and 25), Sebak-āa (Gio. d'Athmasi, pl. 3) and Amamu, as on mummy cases generally, and on funereal tablets. Between the Eyes on many tablets we frequently find the sign , and this is often followed by the sign of Water or the Vase , and very frequently by both. Very often we have two signs , one by each Eye, and not less frequently a pair of jackals, or facing each other. No two tablets are exactly alike, but the meaning is always the same.

Nor is the meaning changed when the tablet is headed by the Winged Disk or even though the Eyes are not seen. Their place is supplied by two Uræi, sometimes crowned with the and the , insignia of Southern and Northern sovereignty.

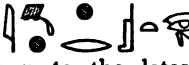
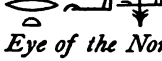
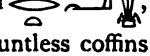
On a fine tablet of the twelfth dynasty (*Denkm.*, II, 136*b*), the sign is attached to each Uræus, and this device is repeated on innumerable monuments.

According to another device the Two Eyes are represented within the Winged Disk (see *e.g.*, Leemans, *Mon.*, III, *M.*, Pl. XVI).

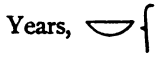
"He of the Pair of Eyes" is always Osiris. But Osiris is a god

"of many names," as the Pyramid Texts show no less than the Book of the Dead, where in the seventeenth chapter he is identified with Tmu, Rā, the Bennu, Amsu and Horus, not to mention others, and where in the Scholia the Two Feathers, the Two Uræi, the Two Eyes and the Two Kites* are identified with the Sister pair Isis and Nephthys. And wherever these symbols occur in *pairs* Isis and Nephthys are meant, one for the right or northern side and the other for the left or southern. The same idea is conveyed under such forms as , , or , and many others. Dr. Birch long ago (*Zeitschr.*, 1877, p. 33) mentioned as representing Osiris between his two sisters. Osiris is often represented as a living , with eyes.

The royal crowns and their decorations, such as , , , , and , abound in this symbolism.

The ancient coffin of Sebakāa at Berlin (*Aelteste Texte*, pl. 29), in the phrase  , recognizes Isis as one of the Two Eyes. Down to the latest periods the Sisters were known as  , *Eye of the Southern* or Left *side* (Isis), and  , *Eye of the Northern* or Right *side* (Nephthys). On countless coffins and sarcophagi these goddesses are represented on opposite sides, in kneeling attitude, holding the in their hands, like the equivalent Vultures of the North and South, with their claws, and the Uræi on their bodies.

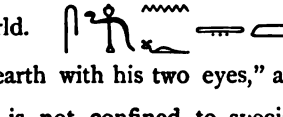
The meaning of the sign is well known. It is a *ring*, and is applied to the circuit of the heavens made by the sun and other heavenly bodies. It is also applied to the yearly recurring flow of the Nile. It has numerically the signification of 10,000,000 or an indefinitely large number. As attached, , to the sign of years , it means *Eternity*.

It is therefore an appropriate emblem of Osiris, the Lord of Years,  , *annosus*, the *King of Eternity*.

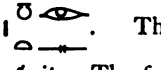
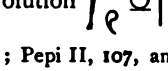
* Or *Vultures*. *See* M. Gayet's *Temple de Luxour*, Pl. xliii, fig. 127, where the Bird at each end of the picture holds in its claw. And note the tabernacles (a very frequent picture) where a winged goddess bearing the kneels on either side of the solar scarab.

The sign of *Water* , and the *Vase* , are also emblems of Osiris, one of whose names is *Water of Renewal.* A chapter of the Pyramid Texts, Teta, 176, Pepi I, 518, which begins by saying that Seb has given to the departed (identified with Osiris) the Two Eyes of *that Great One,** and has done that through Horus who recognizes his father, proceeds after this to say: "He renews thee in thy name of , Water of Renewal."

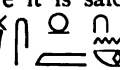
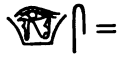
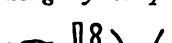
I cannot say if the *Vase* is a mere appendage to the *Water*, but if it is not it most probably was meant to contain the , the divine and life-giving *Sap* flowing from Osiris, which is mentioned in another Pyramid Text (Pepi I, 33), also speaking of the *Water of Renewal*, as a name of Osiris.

The goddesses Isis and Nephthys as mythological figures represent not merely the Light at Dawn and Sunset, but the Light thrown out right and left by the Sun in his entire course, whether in the heavens or in the Netherworld.  , "he lightens up the earth with his two eyes," an expression most frequent in the texts, is not confined to special moments, though it is said of these emphatically.

In all that has been said thus far, the Two Eyes have been considered as acting conjointly and discharging one and the same function. When they are distinguished one from the other as acting in different ways the symbolism is altered.

The ancient scholion on the 17th Chapter speaks of the Right Eye of Rā, and the more recent scholion of the papyri speaks of the Eye as being in pain and weeping for its sister  . The Egyptian name for the Eye is here *uṭ'ait.* The frequent expression means *full moon*, and is constantly identified with the fifteenth day of the month . The moon is in these texts called the *Left Eye* , and Osiris is said to unite with her (or with her sister) in order to renew her revolution  .

* Or as it is said in other words (Teta, 172; Pepi I, 130; Pepi II, 107, and Merenra, 152), "Seb hath brought to thy side thy two sisters, Isis and Nephthys."

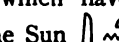
And of the Eye it is said that 'she renews her revolution on the fifteenth day'  , and the god (Osiris) makes her full of her *glory* or *splendour* or what she requires,  =  . This explains the symbol which is seen on certain tablets.

But what is the meaning of the passage at the end of Part I of this chapter—"when the Eye is full in Annu, on the last day of Mechir" , an expression which is repeated in the title of Chapter 140? The moon, which is always represented as full on the fifteenth of the month, cannot be full on the thirtieth. It must be the other Eye, the Sun. Now we know what is meant by the Full Moon, the Plenilunium, but what is the Full Sun?

M. de Rougé, in his commentary on the 17th Chapter, gave the key to this, by pointing out that the 30th Mechir was the last day of the sixth month of the year; that is the 180th day after the first of Thoth, which is supposed to coincide with the Summer Solstice. It is therefore at the time of the *Winter* Solstice that the Eye is said to be full. The inaccuracy, of course, arises from the length of the Egyptian year. But there can be no doubt that the time of the Winter Solstice is meant.

In the year 1470 B.C. the Egyptian year began on July 20, and the 30th Mechir coincided with January 15 of the Julian calendar.

If the Eye (considered as the Sun) is said to be *full* at the Winter Solstice, it was most probably spoken of in the same way not only at the Summer Solstice, but also at the two Equinoxes. And this is the most probable reason why in the pictures representing the Four Rudders of Heaven (North, South, East and West) an Eye is attached to each rudder. (See Vignettes of Chapter 148.)

The Two Eyes, considered as Sun and Moon, are attributed not only to Rā and Osiris, but to gods identified with these. Of the two passages which have been most frequently quoted, "Thy Right Eye is the Sun  and thy left is the Moon ," "His Right Eye is the Sun and his left is the Moon," the first is addressed to Ptah (in the Pap. Berlin, VII, l. 42), and the second, which occurs on the Neapolitan Stele, is really addressed to Osiris

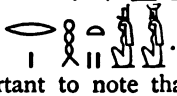
as god of Suten-hunen, under the form of the Ram-headed deity Her-śefit. Reference is made towards the end of the inscription to the "divine Eyes which are in Suten-hunen."

Horus according to the Pyramid Texts has two eyes, a Light one and a Dark one. But the "Eye of Horus" is most frequently spoken of in the singular number. It is certainly meant for the Sun, and the name of it is given to cakes and ale, wine, corn, oil, honey, and all the good things which come to maturity through the beneficent god: who has in himself all the attributes of 'Ceres and Bacchus.'

I must bring this long note to an end with one or two observations.

Many goddesses will be found bearing the title of Eye of Rā. There is not one of these who is not identified with Isis or Nephthys, who are in fact one, and personify the Light of the Sun.

Shu and Tefnut, who are brother and sister, play the same parts as the two goddesses.

There is a picture, which appears in the vignette of Chapter 17 in most of the papyri of the second and later periods, of two *male* deities bearing the Eyes over their heads (see Pl. XXXVI). If the beards upon their chins are not a mistake,* copied from one papyrus upon another, they must represent not Isis and Nephthys but the two Rehu Rā and Thoth, Sun and Moon, instead of the  .

It is important to note that if Sun and Moon are Eyes of Osiris or Rā or Ptah, the deity is not to be confounded with them: they are but manifestations of himself.

* A very conceivable, because a very frequent, one.

(*The notes on Chapter* 125 *will be continued in the next number of the Proceedings.*)

PLATE XXXIII.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

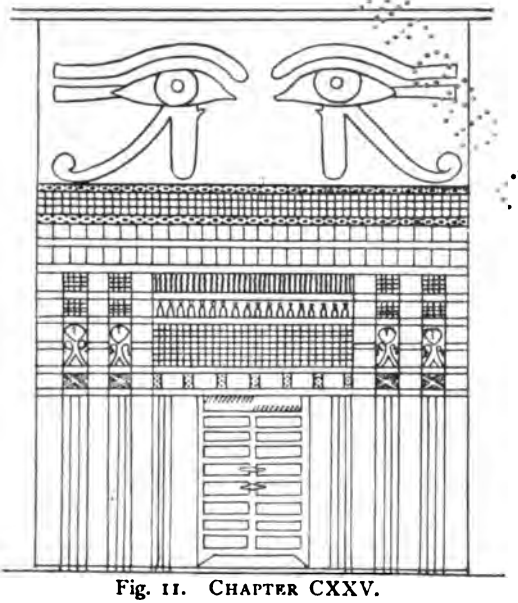


Fig. 11. CHAPTER CXXV.
Sarcophagus of Sebek-āa, Berlin Museum.

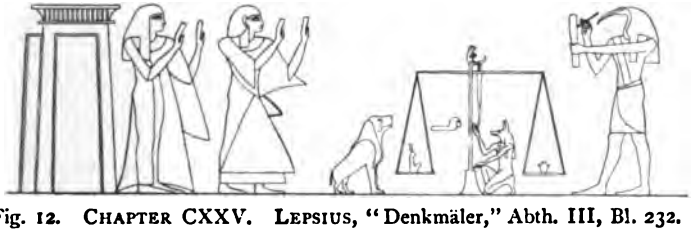


Fig. 12. CHAPTER CXXV. LEPSIUS, "Denkmäler," Abth. III, Bl. 232.

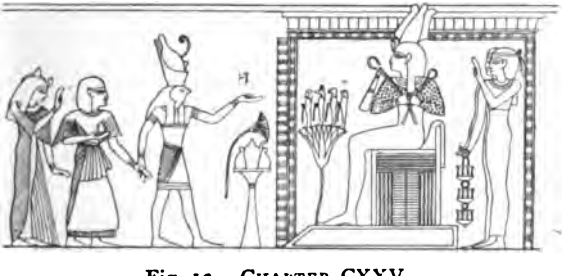


Fig. 13. CHAPTER CXXV.
LEPSIUS, "Denkmäler," Abth. III, Bl. 232.

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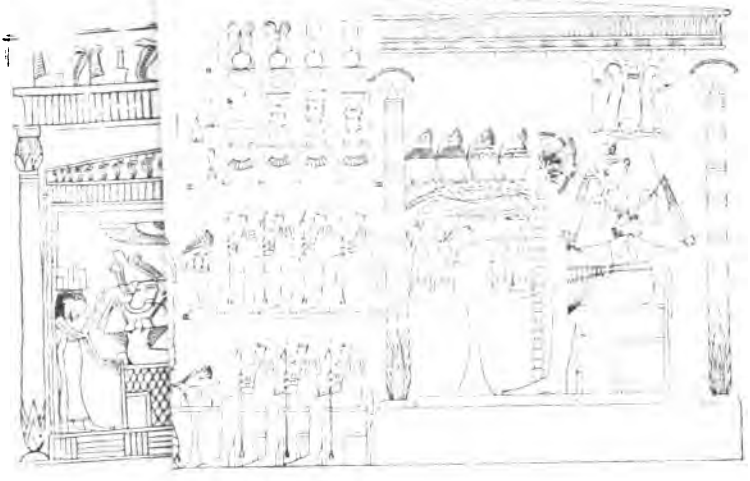
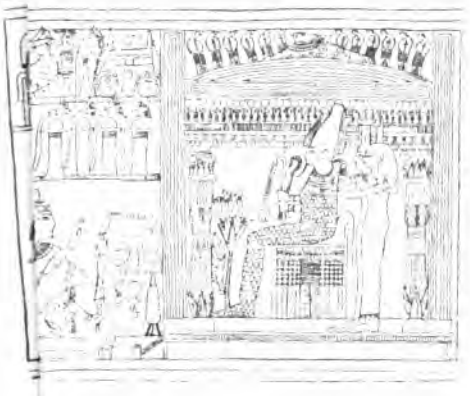


Fig. 15.
LEPSIUS, "Denkmäler," Abth. III, Bl. 78.



IUS, "Denkmäler," Abth. III, Bl. 39.

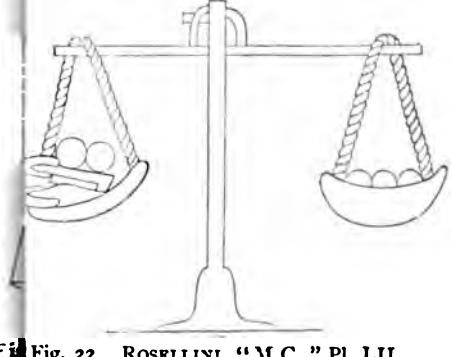


Fig. 22. ROSELLINI, "M.C.," Pl. LII.

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY PROFESSOR DR. FRITZ HOMMEL.

§ 13. The real name of the "Western Country," mentioned in the Cuneiform inscriptions: In a paper printed in the "Sitzungs berichte der kgl.-preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin," 1894, No. 53, p. 1299–1308 ("das Westland und das Land Amurri nach den babylonischen und assyrischen Inschriften"), Professor SCHRADER tries for several reasons to reject M. DELATTRE's ingenious assertion, that the well-known geographical term *mât A-*𒄭*-ri-i* should in all places be read *A-mur-ri-i*. M. DELATTRE was led to this reading by the Amarna tablets (compare these *Proceedings*, XIII (1891), p. 233*f.*), because in these letters Cœlesyria is not only named *A-mu-ri*, *A-mu-ur-ra*, but also *A-*𒄭*-ri* (*A-mur-ri*), and because Assur-naṣir-pal, 3, 84*ff* denotes with *mât A-*𒄭*-ra-i* the same district. In the Amarna tablets, Berlin, Nos. 31 and 32, this district (Cœlesyria, compare W. MAX MÜLLER, "Asien und Europa," in several places—this important work is not at all cited by SCHRADER) is called *mât Mar-tu:* the king of Khatti marches against the land Nukhassi (Inaugas of the Egyptian documents) and the town Dunip (near Aleppo, if تِنَّب is to be identified with Dunip), and then mounts to the highland of *Martu*, which is here of course (against SCHRADER) nothing else than *Amuri*, the land of the governor Aziru (the writer of the letters, Berlin, 31, 32, 33).

Now, in the Assyrian inscriptions, and also, more than a dozen centuries ago, in the old Babylonian texts (of Gudea, the later kings of Ur, and of the time of Khammu-rabi), *Martu* (or *mât A-*𒄭*-ri-i*) is used in a wider sense, designating almost the whole of Palestine; and because Palestine was to the Babylonians and Assyrians the Western country, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, *A-*𒄭*-ri-i* (as also *Mar-tu*) is used as the common term for "Western." Concerning

*A-*𒄭*-ri-i*, if used in this wider sense, Professor SCHRADER pleads for the reading *A-khar-ri-i*.

But also in the Old Testament, אֱמֹרִי (the so-called *Nisbat* or local adjective of an unused singular אֱמֹרָת, which I identify with *Martu*, out of *Amartu*, because the accent lies in the syllable *Mar*) is used in this wider sense, especially in some books, *e.g.*, the so-called later Elohist (here אֱמֹרִי a mere synonym of כנען); and in the list of winds in the Talmud (DELITZSCH, "Assyrische Studien," p. 139), this *A-*𒄭*-ru-u* is transcribed אוריא, which cannot be read otherwise than *awurriyā*. *Awurriyā* is the Neo-Babylonian pronunciation for *Amurriyā* (comp. *argamannu*, ארגון; *Amil-Marduk* אויל־מרדך, etc., etc.), and so we have a new proof for DELATTRE's assertion (instead of a counter-evidence, as Professor SCHRADER maintains).

A last and concluding proof for *Martu* = *A-mur-ri-i* lies in two passages (overlooked by Assyriologists) of the old Babylonian contract tablets, as I will now shortly show. We read, Bu. 88-5-12, 47 (time of the king Ammi-zaduga): 28 *gan iḳli ugâr A-mu-ur-ri-i* (*-ki*), compare MEISSNER, "Beiträge zum altbabyl. Privatrecht," p. 41*f*. In another tablet of the same collection (Bu. 88-5-12, 179; MEISSNER, p. 61) and of the time of the same king, the same field is called *ugâr Mar-tu* (9 *gan iḳlu ab-sim ugâr Mar-tu*).

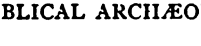
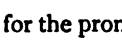
§ 14. In K. 257 (HAUPT's "Keilschrifttexte," No. 21), lines 29 and 30, we read 𒀭𒀀𒀀 *an-na* 𒀭𒀀𒀀 *ki-a šú-mu-ta ni* . . . . . ., in Semitic: *bît* 𒀀𒀀 *-ak*, *bît* 𒉺 *-ti*, *ana ḳa-ti-ya ú-ma-al*[*-li?*]. Here *bît Iyak* corresponds to 𒀭𒀀𒀀 *-an-na*, "house of heaven," and 𒀭𒀀𒀀 𒉺 *-ti* to 𒀭𒀀𒀀 *ki-a*, "house of earth." Compare for 𒉺 *-tum*, "earth," K. 9417 (BEZOLD's "Catalogue," III, p. 1010): *u-tam-mi-ku-nu-šim* ("I conjure you") *šamî* (𒉺 *-i* to be pronounced in Sumerian *ayi*, and the same as *iya* in 𒀀𒀀 *-ak*) *irṣitim*; 𒉺 *A-nu* 𒉺 *-tum*; 𒉺 *Du-* 𒀭𒀀𒀀, 𒉺 *Da-* 𒀭𒀀𒀀; 𒉺 *Luḫ-ma*, 𒉺 *La-ḫa-ma*, etc., etc., which is always, in several variations, the same expression, "heaven and earth." For 𒀀𒀀 *-ak* (a noun like *ašurakku*, *abarakku*, etc.) compare the goddess 𒉺 𒀀𒀀, the wife of the Sun-god, written in "W.A.I.," III, 66, 2*d* 𒉺 𒀀𒀀 *-i-tu* (i.e., *Iyaïtu*, "the heaven-like," compare *Anunitu*, from *Anun*, the older form of *Anum*), and names like 𒉺 𒀀𒀀 *-ram-mu*, 'Senach.," 2, 54 (Yoram, as Mr. PINCHES

showed, "P.B.A.S." VIII, 28), or *-ka-ma-ru*, "W.A.I." IV, 2*d* ed., pl. 47, No. 1 (the name of a Masaean sheikh).*

Of the greatest grammatical interest is *Da-* , the fem. of *Du-* (compare Arabic ذو, fem. ذَات?), or *Laḫama*, fem. of *Luḫma*, in this latter case evidently an internal formation for the feminine gender. Or should we compare the Arabic fem. form فَعَال? compare PAUL DE LAGARDE, "Übersicht," p. 23: "(die Femininform فَعَال begegnet recht häufig in Schimpfnamen für Frauen, denen für Männer فُعَل. Formen zur Seite gehen, wie خَبَّاث *khabâzi* und خُبَث *khubazu* 'Scheusal,' u.a.") So I think it very probable that we should see in *Luḫma* an original masculine form *Luḫamu* (which must become in Babyl. Assyr. *Luḫmu*) and in *Laḫâma* an original feminine form *Laḫâmi*. For the etymology may be compared Arabic *luḫm*, "a large kind of fish," in best accordance with the chaotic character of *Luḫmu* and *Laḫâmu* in the cosmogonic texts of the Babylonians. Professor SAYCE sees also in Beth-Lekhem the same mythological being; that he is right, is proved by the names of other towns, such as Beth-Dagon, Beth-El, Beth-Ba'al-Ma'ôn, Beth-'Anat, Beth-Shemesh—all these composed with *beth*, "house," and the name of a god.

§ 15. In S^b 287–8 , Sumerian *sur-ru*, is translated by the Semitic *kalû*, "priest, sorcerer;" the same meaning has , "W.A.I.," II, 21, 41 and 46 (compare *uz* = *inzu*, S^b 286, "she-goat"). In the star list, "W.A.I.," V, 46, 38, we have (instead of ?), "she-goat;" compare "Zeitschr. für Assyr.," III, p. 204. The sign seems to have had two different values, the one *ǵas*, *ras*, and the other *sur*, *sud*, for which latter may be compared "W.A.I.," IV, 2, 4, (with the variant !) and "W.A.I.," IV, 3, 23, *-da* (Semitic *ḫa-am-ra*). In , "she-goat," , seems to me

* JENSEN too, in his "Kosmologie," p. 274, identified *Anatu* in a similar list ("W.A.I.," III, 69, No. 1, obv., compare JENSEN'S book, p. 272) with the earth; notwithstanding, he explains *bît Iyak* in K. 257 as Semitic translation of *ki-a*, "house of earth," and *bît* *-ti* (*bît Anati*) as Semitic translation of *an-na*, "house of heaven," in SCHRADER'S "Keilinschr. Bibl.," III, p. 202, note.

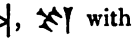
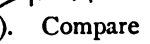
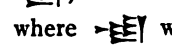
to be the phonetic indicator for the pronunciation *ǵaz* (Neo-Sumerian *uz*), semitisized *kasû* ("W.A.I." IV, 29, 52, *ka-si-i ḫaš-lu-ti*, "slaughtered goats," in Sumerian ), whilst in  I think the phonetic indicator for the pronunciation *sur*. Concerning in , "goat," we have here probably the same determinative suffix as in (= *aškaru*), because *aškar* was really a Sumerian word for "goat;" compare (*sal aš-kar*) = *unîḳu*, Arabic *'anâḳ* (HOMMEL, "Säugethiernamen," Leipzig, 1879, p. 435), and the star , i.e., *aš-kar*, "Capella" (Semitic *iḳû*, عَيُّوق).

Concerning , "she-goat," I cannot agree with JENSEN and ZIMMERN, "Z.A.," III, 204, and see in it the Assyrian form of the old Babylonian sign in the inscriptions of Gudea (statue F, 4, 5; cyl. B, 10, 4); I would rather identify the latter with Assyrian (*gunu* of "Sumerische Lesestücke," p. 8, No. 91), *dara=turâḫu*. Compare, too, LENORMANT'S "Choix," No. 56 (upon a statue of the god Nabu-Nusku) , which I think to be transcribed , *Bil-dara-zuab* (syn. of *Bil-* "W.A.I.," V, 43, 37=Nabû, and *Bil-gab*, "W.A.I.," IV, 1, 49*b*).

Even LENORMANT ("Journal Asiatique," 7ième série, vol. X, 1877, p. 126, note 1) translated *kalû* with "vaisseau" (Heb. כֶּלִי). It is true, that this *kalû* generally signifies "priest," but it must have existed as a Babylonian word, *kalû*, "ship." This is proved not only by the determ. , "ship," but also by the inscriptions of Gudea. We read, Gudea D 3, 3 and 8, the word *ma* (ship) , which is translated by AMIAUD with "bark." JENSEN ("Keilinschr. Bibl.," III, p. 52) adopts this translation, and cites for the reading *ma-gur* the interesting syllabary 83, 1–18, 1330 (published by BEZOLD in these "Proceedings," December, 1888), Rev. 4, 26, where we read:—

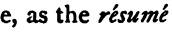
u-ru		*a-bu-bu; šub-tum*
gur		*ša ilippi: tu-ba* (?)*-bu.*

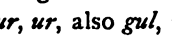
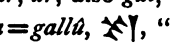
Here, the sign is evidently intended to represent not only the Old-Babylonian = *alu*, *manzazu*, *miḫu*, *šûtu*, and=

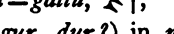
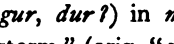
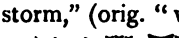
alu, abúbu (Sumerian *uru*), but also the Old-Babylonian (*i.e.*, , with the reading *gal, mul*, orig. *gur*, and an inscribed). Compare also the two words  = *abûbu* and  (Gudea B, 6, 41) = *abúbu* (so also , *Rammânu*, or better, *Abúbu*, Egypt. *'Apep*, compare), where was used to render the sign . But, since *kalû* (orig. "ship," Heb. כֶּלִי) is evidently the same as  "bark" (see above), also was used in some cases to render the sign .

So we have, as the *résumé* of this whole investigation, for in Assyrian writing :

1. (*gur, ur*, also *gul, vul*) compare the name of the dæmon , *mul-la = gallû*, , "taurus" in the zodiac.

2. (*gur, dur?*) in *mar-*  , "storm," "storm-god," and *a-mâ-* , "storm," (orig. "water in the ship?").

3.  (*gur*) in  , "ship, bark."

4.  (and ), this fourth perhaps being only a synonym, because  has otherwise the equivalent of in the inscriptions of Telloh, *e.g.*, in , *gišgalla-ki* (Babel).

§ 16. Professor STRONG in his learned and interesting paper on alliteration in Babylonian poetry ("Proceedings," XVII, pp. 131–151) gives a transliteration and translation of the text K. 8204 (*ibidem*, p. 139). In this text we have not only alliteration, but (not noticed till now) *rhyme*. Compare lines :—

3. *ša dunḫâ* . . . . . *kâša*
4. *šarka* . . . . . *iâša*

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5. *alsî-ka* . . . . . *allal*
6. *altapil* . . . . . *naïal*
7. *allapit* . . . . . *ubal*
8. *altanasi* . . . . . *ḳaïal*

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9. *dunnamû* . . . . . *duḫdu*
10. *duruš* . . . . . *išdu*
11. *dunḳi* . . . . . *ḫidu*
12. *dur abni* . . . . . *ṭiddu*

Therefore we must restore lines 1 and 2, not

1. *ša lakâta ina ilâni ul innaši* [*ri-ša*]
2. *ša inši u dunnamî tukân iš*[*du*]

as Professor Strong does, but

1. *ša lakâta* . . . . . [*rissu*]
2. *ša inši* . . . . . *iš*[*issu*]

written probably *ri-is-su* and *iš-šis-su* (for *riš-su* and *išid-su*).

In line 11, *dunḳi taṭirakku* cannot mean: "with favour thou coverest me," since *taṭirakku* (2nd sing. of *iṭîru*, "to save") has the suffix of the 2nd person; or, should we read *ta-šar-ra-ku* "(which) thou bestowest" (𒋗 being also *šar*, not only *ḫi* and *ṭi*)?

§ 17. In the same paper, Professor STRONG published an incantation to the fire god, K. 2455, which begins: *Gibil šarḫu ḫukur Anim, ilitti ilîtim šaḳut* (*ilat*) *Šalaš*. I translate these lines: "Gibil the mighty, the firstborn of Anu, the pure child of the sublimity of the goddess Shala." I think we have here the well-known consort of the god Rammân, Shala, with the Kassitic ending in *-aš*.*

Another interesting name of a deity is *Mu'at*, K 3600 (a hymn addressed to the goddess Nanâ, the latter called here *ḫirat* ⟩⟩𒀀 *Mu-'u-a-ti*), cited by Professor STRONG, p. 135, note. This name seems to me the same as the Phenician *Môt* (Μώτ) of Philo, the offspring of Πόθος and Πνεῦμα, and the father of sun, moon, and stars. The etymology is perhaps given by the Ethiopic ሙአት: (*mû'at*), "victory." If Πνεῦμα is Bel (the air) and the sun and the stars Marduk and the other planets, Μώτ must be Ea, the god of earth and water; in this case, Nanâ must be in K. 3600 an epithet of Dam-gal-nunna, the wife of Ea.

§ 18. Another alliterative hymn is K. 9852—compare BEZOLD'S "Catalogue," vol. III, p. 1043; here we read *li-is-siḫ-ki* (or *li-iṣ-lil-ki*?) *ur-ḳit ṣîri, li-šî-ṣi-ki* ⟩⟩𒀀 *I'-a bil* [*nimîḳi*?], *li-id-di-ki* ⟩⟩𒀀

* Supplementary note: Compare on Shalash (by the side of Shala), Jensen, "Z.A.," VI, 69.

Nun-gim-mud (etc.). In this text, the writing *Nun-gim-mud*, instead of the well-known epithet of Ea, *Nu-gim-mud*, is very remarkable. We learn from it, also, that the Babylonians spelled *Nun*, the old name of the heavenly ocean, as *Nu*, like the Egyptians.

§ 19. The expression :

Gudea, Cyl. A, 15, 7 ff., we read: *ki-* *-ta mu-na* , *Mà-gan Mi-luḫ-ḫa kur-bi-ta gú giš* (= *kal iṣî*, "all sorts of woods") *mu-na-ab-gál, i* ("house") *Nin-gir-su-ka* *-ní, i.e.*, "out of the land of *-irin* he fetched the wood (or resin?) of cedars, out of the mountains of Magan and Milukh he ordered (caused to be brought) all sorts of woods and built with it the temple of Ningirsu."

The same expression is used in an old Babylonian inscription, published by H. WINCKLER in his "Untersuchungen," p. 157:

Ka (?)*-šá-* , *pa-ti-si* , *šakanak ma-ti I'lam-ti.*

Mr. GEORGE SMITH in his "Early History of Babylonia" (*Records of the Past*, III), translated the same inscription erroneously *Mi*(?)*-sa Nana kalam-mi* (?), "viceroy of Ridu (= Eridu), high priest of Mati- . . . . num."

Concerning the god , perhaps the names (*i.e.*, of Elam?) and , both signifying Nindar (BRÜNNOW, No. 3007 and 3045) are to be compared. Compare also DELITZSCH, "Paradies," p. 327; the name of this god was *Tišbak* (which I think *Tišub* with the Elamitic ending *-ak*) and he was also the god of Susa (Susinak). DELITZSCH reads *Tiškhu;* but *Ti-iš-* is evidently to be read *Ti-iš-bak*. On Tišup see also JENSEN, "Zeitschr. für Assyr.," V, p. 202, note, and VI, 68 ff. (in Mitanni and Su *Tišupaš*).

§ 20. In the Elamitic proper name *Ma-uk-ti-ti* ("Rec. de trav.," XIII, pl. IX, cited by JENSEN, "W.Z.K.M.," VI, 217) we have evidently the same deity as in the well-known name *Kudur-Mabuk*. *Mabuk* and *Ma'uk* are only variants of spelling. Since the Babylonian goddess *Ba'u* is also written *Babu*, I think that we should probably see in *Mabuk* this same name, but in an Elamiticized form. Mr. PINCHES found a tablet with all the names of the kings of Gen. xiv (see the still unpublished "Acts of the Geneva Congress"),

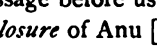
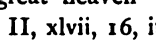
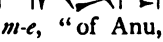
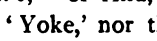
viz., *Ḫammu-rabi*, *Iriaku*, *Kudur-Dugmal* (for *-Lugmal*, compare Tugdammi and Lygdamis), the latter written 𒀀 𒀀 𒀀 𒄷, and *Tudḫul*; the form כדרלעמר in Gen. xiv goes back to an older Kudur-Lagamar. Now, Lagamar was an Elamitic goddess, and I think it not impossible to see in Kudur-Mabuk a half-Semitisized form of Kudur-Lagamar. In this case, Ba'u (Elamitisized Mabuk) would have been the Babylonian correspondent of the Elamitic Lagamar. We find quite an analogous Semitisizing in Rim-sin of the inscriptions (for the more Elamitic Iri-Aku); compare also Ḫarbi-Bel for Ḫarbi-Shipak, etc.

EUPHRATEAN STELLAR RESEARCHES.

BY ROBERT BROWN, JUNR., F.S.A.

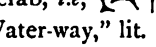
PART V.—*The Archaic Stellar Researches.* (Continued.)

X.

GUŠIRKESDA ("The Yoke of the Enclosure"), = γ, $\hat{\epsilon}$, η, θ and Φάτνη (*νεφελοειδὴν*) *Cancri*. According to Prof. Hommel, at this point in the tablet we enter on an 'Excursus,' and the scene, for some reason unknown, is suddenly shifted to the North Pole (*vide* Vol. XVII, p. 289). This asterism, the name of which he reads as "*Musir-sar-da* (sprich *Musir-sadda*)" or '*Musir-Kisda*,' is, he states, the "Grossen Gott Anu des Himmels," the "Joch des Himmels," the 'Nordpol,' and the Pole-star, which, cir. B.C. 3000, was *α Draconis* (*Die Astron.*, iii, 1, 5). So, again, "*Stern mu-sir-sadda* (Nord polarstern) Gott Anu" (*Ibid.* 12). In *W.A.I.*, V, xviii, 24 *Guśirkesda* is explained as  , *Ni-ru sa sam-ê*, "the Yoke of the heaven;" and in *Ibid.* V, xlvi, 47, as *Niru rakisu*, "Yoke-binding." In the passage before us (*Ibid.* V, xlvi, 12) it is called "the *Yoke of the Enclosure* of Anu [*Anim*, a genitive with mimmation] prince of the great heaven" (vide *Proceedings*, Feb., 1890, p. 190). In *W.A.I.*, II, xlvii, 16, it is styled, similarly, "the *Yoke of the Enclosure*"  *'ili A-nim* [gen., as above] *rab-u sa sam-e*, "of Anu, prince of heaven." It is thus clear that neither the 'Yoke,' nor the 'Enclosure,' is Anu, but is said to belong to him; nor can we imagine how a single star could well be described as a 'Yoke.'* Nor, in all this, is there anything about the North Pole or the Pole-star; but, on the contrary, as Prof. Sayce observes, "the ecliptic was termed 'the yoke of heaven'" (*Rel. Anct. Babs.*, p. 48), an idea perfectly natural and comprehensible. Thus, *Aldebaran* (*α Tauri*) was technically called *Pidnu*, "the Yoke" (*vide* Vol. XVII, p. 289), the ecliptic being regarded as a 'yoke' laid across heaven, and its name being technically transferred to its first great star. And if in *W.A.I.*, II, xlvii, 16, we read  (*ma-mit*, Sayce), instead of  (*rab-u*, Bertin), the result is similar; for the As. *mamit* (derived from an Ak. goddess Mami, who fixes destinies) = Ak. *śabba*, Sum. *śagga*, *śangua*, = *śanga*, "a bond" (= yoke), "whence the Sem. *śanaqu*, 'to bind,'" (Sayce,

* For an instance of two or more stars being so regarded, vide *Proceedings*, April, 1892, p. 299.

Rel. Anct. Babs., p. 306, n. 1). Either Anu is the 'arbiter' (Sayce) of heaven, or "the Yoke of the Enclosure" is "the Yoke of heaven." Jensen also quotes *W.A.I.*, II, xlvii, 16, to show that "*Mu-sir-kišda* = *Anu*," and Anu, he thinks, is "ein Pol des Himmels." "Anu = Pol der Ekliptik oder = Pol des Aequators "(*Die Kosmologie*, 18, 19). He may well hesitate; there is as much, and as little, to be said for one pole as the other. That *Kesda* means enclosure (vide Sayce, *Rel. Anct. Babs.*, p. 154, n. 1), further appears from the Ak. *χas*, "to cut," 'division,' and the Turko-Tataric root '*kes*, *kec*,' "to cut," "to cut up," 'small,' 'narrow,' *i.e.*, that which is cut up or cut off; whence such words as the Tchagatai *kes-ek*, 'apiece.' Hence, too, Kirgish *kes-u*, 'lot,' 'destiny,' *i.e.*, that cut off for and appointed to anyone (vide Vámbéry, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Turko-Tatarischen Sprachen*, p. 98); which illustrates the connexion between *Kesda* (*da* = the "individualizing affix") and Mami, the destiny-goddess, and explains why the common Crane was called in Ak. *Kesda* (vide Rev. Wm. Houghton, in *Transactions*, viii, 141), *i.e*, on account of its sonorous and (supposed) fatidical voice (vide *Xas*, the *Crab*, *Proceedings*, March, 1891, p. 253).

That the name "Yoke of the Enclosure" (= the Ecliptic) should be applied, with a secondary reference, to the stars of *Cancer*, is both natural and appropriate (1) because *Cancer* has always been regarded as the beginning or highest gate of the ecliptic; and (2) because there are no particular stars in this—"the Dark Constellation"—to suggest at first sight a special stellar name. I have at length discovered the Ak. name of the crab, *i.e*,  , *Nagar-asagga* ("The Workman-of-the-Water-way," lit. 'yoke;' vide *sup. sagga*); and this name is applied to *Cancer*, for, in a *Dilbat Tablet* (No. 81-7-6, 102), the *Kakkab Nagar-asagga* is the star (or constellation) of the 4th (the 'Crab') month (Tammuz). Hence, we see that the Sum. *Guśir* ('Yoke') = the Sum. *Nagga* ('Bond'), so that, astronomically, *Guśirkesda* ("The Yoke of the Enclosure") = *Nagar-asagga* ("The Workman-of-the-Water-yoke") = the constellation *Cancer*. In further illustration of the above explanation, we find that the 4th antediluvian king, who, as I have shown (vide *The Celestial Equator of Aratos*, sec. ii; the *Academy*, July, 15, 1893, p. 56), is equated with *Pollux*, just at the beginning of *Cancer*, is named Ἀμμένων, = Ak. *Umun-an* ("Girdle-of-heaven"); and vide *inf.* Asterism No. XXX, GUŚIRÀBBA. The *Yoke* appears with other lunar zodiacal emblems on the monuments.

= Per. 9. *Avra-k* (= γ, δ, η, θ, and Φάτνη, Lat. *Praesepe*, the *Crib*, *Cancri*), "the Cloud" (= νεφελοειδής), Av. *awra*, Per. *abr*, 'cloud,' Gk. 'αφρός, 'foam.' Cf. *Bundahis*, vii, 1:—"The star *Tistar* [*Sirius*] was in *Cancer* [*i.e.*, was a paranatellon of the *Crab*] . . . in the sub-division they call Avrak."

Ind. 8. *Pushya* (= δ, θ *Cancri*), 'Foam,' 'froth' (not the comparatively meaningless signification 'auspicious'), = *Avrak-*ἀφρός. Sometimes called *Tishya* (= Per. *Tîstar*, sup.), from the connexion above noticed between *Cancer* and *Sirius*, an illustration of the non-original character of the Ind. scheme.

Chi. 8. *Kuei*, anc. *Kut* (= γ, δ, η, θ and *Praesepe Cancri*), "the Cloud-like," hence "the Ghost" (=Ak. *kit*, 'dust-cloud,' 'ghost,' the phantom being likened to a cloud of dust, Altaic *kut*, 'ghost'). Cf. Mr. Kingsmill: "*Kwei*, a name of ill omen applied to the manes of the departed." We can now see how and why.

Ar. 8. *An-Nathrah* (= Same stars), "the point between lip and nostrils"—of *Leo*, unduly extended (vide Ar. 7).

Cop. 8. *Ermelia* (= Same stars), "the Nurturing- (place)?" Cf. Gk. ἀρμαλιά = ἡ τροφή = Φάτνη.

The following stars do not seem to be included in the Ak. scheme:—

ξ *Caneri*, λ *Leonis* = Ar. 9. *Al Tarf*, "the Eyes"—of *Leo*.

Per. 10. *Nahn*, "the Nose" (Av. *Naonha*, 'nose')—of *Leo*.

Cop. 9. *Piautos*, "the Eye" (Eg. *pi*, +*uta*, "symbolic eye")—of *Leo*.

δ, ε, ρ, ζ, η, σ *Hydrae* = Ind. 9. *Açlesha*, "the Entwiner." Said to mean 'embracing,' 'serpents.' Possibly a reference to *Hydra* is contained in the name.

δ, ε, ρ, ζ, θ *Hydrae* = Chi. 9. *Liu*, "the Willow. A 'binder,' "Circular garland." The reference in each case appears to be to the more or less circular form of the stars in question, and such an origin illustrates the variant character of these asterisms.

XI.

TUR-US-MAL MAχ ("The Son of the Supreme Temple") = α *Hydrae* (*Alphard*, "the Solitary"). The identifications of the Xth and XIIth mansions leave us with this notable star for the XIth. The name seems to imply a single star.

= Chi. 10. *Sing* (= *a*, τ *Hydrae*), "the Star," anc. *Tah* (cf. Ak. *Tur*).

XII.

GISMES ("The Curved Weapon"),=$\eta, \gamma, \zeta, \mu, \epsilon, \lambda$ *Leonis* (=The *Sickle*). Cf. the Turko-Tartaric root *ḳaj*, *ḳij*, "to bend," 'curve,' etc., whence the Tchagatai *ḳaś*, 'bow'=Ak. *gis-me*, *gis-bam*, 'bow' (vide Sayce, *Rel. Anct. Babs.*, p. 480 n. 3).

= Sog. and Kho. 9. *Khamshish* (=$\eta, \gamma, \zeta, \mu, \epsilon, \lambda$ *Leonis*), "the Scimetar" (Per. *shimshir*). The name is also curiously like one meaning "the crooked six" (Per. *kham*, 'crooked,'+*shash*, 'six,' Av. *khshvas*).

Ind. 10. *Magha* (=$\alpha, \eta, \gamma, \zeta, \mu, \epsilon$ *Leonis*), "the Great." So, *Regulus* (*a Leonis*), in the Per. scheme, is "the Great-one in the middle [*cf.* Per. 11] of the sky" (*Bundahis*, ii, 8).

Ar. 10. *Aj-Jabhah* (=$\alpha, \eta, \gamma, \zeta$ *Leonis*), "the Forehead"—of *Leo*.

Cop. 10. *Titefni* (= Same stars), "the Forehead" (Eg. *tai*, Cop. *ti*, 'the'+Cop. *tefni*, 'forehead,' Eg. *ṭehen*)—of *Leo*.

XIII.

GUBBARA ("The Fire-flame"), = *a Leonis* (*Regulus*). The 5th antediluvian king Ἀμεγάλαρος, = Ak. *Amil-gal-ur* ("King-of-the-celestial-sphere"), is equated with *Regulus*, a star in the late Bab. astronomy called *Sarru* ("the King"). Ὁ Λέων ἔχει ἐπὶ τῆς καρδίας ἀστέρα Βασιλίσκον λεγόμενον, ὃν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι νομίζουσιν ἀρχειν τῶν οὐρανίων (Schol. in Arat., *Phai.*, 148).

= Per. 11. *Miyan* (= *a Leonis*), "the Centre" (Av. *Maidhyâna*, 'middle')—of heaven, and of *Leo* (*cf.* Ind. 10).

Sog. 10. *Magh* (= Same star), "the Great,"=Ind. 10 (Av. *maz*, great,' Lat. *magnus*).

Kho. 10. *Achir* (= Same star), "Possessing-luminous-rays" (Av. *aç*, "to penetrate," *açan*, "rays-of-light." Cf. Lat. *acer*).

XIV.

KUA ("The Oracle"),=δ, θ *Leonis*.

= Sog. 11. *Wadha* (=δ, θ *Leonis*), "the Wise" (Av. *vid*, "to know," *vidus*, 'wise,' Sk. *vida*, 'one-knowing').

Kho. 11. *Amagh* (= Same stars), "the Great," = Sog. 10.

Ind. 11. *Purva Phalgunî* (= Same stars), "the Former Red-one."

Ar. 11. *Az-Ẓubrah* (= Same stars), "the Shoulder"—of *Leo.*

Cop. 11. *Pikhôrion* (= Same stars), "the Shoulder" (Eg. *pui*, Cop. *pi*, 'the,' + *qâḥu*, 'shoulder')—of *Leo.*

The following is a variant of the Ak. scheme:—

Chi. 11. *Tchang*, anc. *Tjung* (=λ, *υ*, *μ*, *φ*, *ν Hydrae*), "the Archer."

XV.

LAMAS ("The Colossus"), called in As. *Mikid-isati* ("The Burning-of-fire"). This star is also called *Sa*, As. *Samu* ("the Blue"), which, from its colour, was also a name of *Mercury*. Smyth describes *Denebola* as "a standard Greenwich star, with a distant companion, on the switch of Leo's tail, A 2½, bluish; B 8, dull red" (*Celestial Cycle*, ii, 257). = *β Leonis* (*Denebola*, = *Dhanab-al-asad*, "the Tail of the Lion").

= Per. 12. *Avdem* (=*β Leonis*), "the One in the tail" (Av. *avi*, 'in,' + Per. *dumb*, 'tail.'

Sog. 12. *Widhu* (= Same star), "the Burning-one" (Aryan root *hîd*; cf. Sk. root *vidah*, "to burn").

Kho. 12. *Widhayu* (= Same star), "the Burning-one" (*cf.* Sk. *vidaha*, 'burning'). The reference is probably to the time of year, as Aratos says of *Leo*, "These are the hottest pathways of the Sun" (*Phai.*, 149).

Ind. 12. *Uttara Phalgunî* (=*β*, 93 *Leonis*), "the Latter Red-one." The *Phalgunyau* are called *Arjunyau* ("The Bright"). The Vedic Arjunî = Gk. *Argynnis*.

Ar. 12. *Aṣ-Ṣarfah* (=*β Leonis*, "the Changer"—of the weather; otherwise *Al-Dafîrah* (=*Daphira*), "the Tuft-of-hair"—at the end of the tail of *Leo.*

Cop. 12. *Asphulia* (=*β*, *θ Leonis*). Possibly = Gk. Ἀσφάλιος ("the Securer"), applied to the Dog (*cf.* Per. 13), as a guard; but, more probably, = Ar. *Azyâl* ("The Tail"), the reference being to *θ Leonis*, called in late Bab. astronomy "the Tail of the Dog of the Lion" (), and *β Leonis*, called "the Tail of the Lion" ( ).*

A variant or 'external' asterism here occurring is:—

α, *β*, *γ*, *δ*, *ζ Crateris* = Chi. 12. *Yh*, anc. *Jjh* ("The Wing") The Bird-idea is preserved.

* Vide R. B. Jr., in the *Academy*, Nov. 10, 1894, p. 379.

XVI.

NINSAR ("The Lady-of-heaven," = Istar-*Virgo*), = *β*, *η*, *γ*, *δ*, *ε* *Virginis*.

= Per. 13. *Mashaha* (= *β*, *η*, *γ*, *δ*, *ε* *Virginis*), "the Domestic-animal" (Av. *Mashyôvanha*), *i.e.*, the Dog.

Sog. 13. *Fastashat* (= Same stars). A variant corruption of the Per. name.

Kho. 13. *Afsasat* (= Same stars). The like. *Af* = *Fa* reversed (vide Vol. XVII, p. 292).

Ar. 13. *Al-'Auwâ* (= Same stars), "the Howler." It seems that a *Dog* (vide *sup.*, Cop. 12) was imagined after the *Lion*, and flying from the latter, fearing lest it should turn round.

β Virginis was called *Zâwiyat-al-'auwâ* ("the Retreat-of-the-Howler") = *Zavijava*, or *Min-al-'auwâ*, *i.e.*, the stars of the Barker or Barking-bitch. This *Dog* was not a separate constellation, but included in *Leo*, as *e.g.*, the *Goat* (*Capella*) in *Auriga*. Proctor, speaking of *ε*, *ζ*, *γ*, *η*, and *β Virginis*, says, "For some cause or other . . . this corner was called by Arabian [and other] astronomers 'the retreat of the howling dog.' (*Easy Star Lessons*, p. 109.) The cause now appears, and it supplies an interesting instance of the connexion between the Arabian lunar mansions and Babylonia.

Cop. 13. *Abukia* (= Same stars), "the Lair of the Howler" (Eg. *ab*, 'lair,' + *akbu*, 'lament'). The patron-divinities of the Ak. asterism are Nergal, the War-and-death-god, and Istar as the 'Double-one,' "Star of the morn and eve"; and, in this connexion we meet with a Twy-headed Dog, respecting which Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen observes: "The double-headed dog often represented on the boundary-stones was the emblem of the god Tutu . . . as god of the morning and evening dawns, 'the begetter and restorer of the gods,' like the Indian Yama or dog-headed god of death and the dawn." (In *Western Origin*, p. 81.) This dog-myth is widely diffused; in China we find the belief in "two monstrous dogs [= the Twy-headed Dog], guardians of the road from which there is no return" [*Ibid.*]; and "the identity of the four-eyed dog of the Parsi with Kerberos and Yama's dogs appears from the Parsi tradition that the yellow-eared dog watches at the head of the *Kinvat* bridge, which leads from this to the next world, and with his barking drives away the fiend from the souls of the holy ones." (Darmesteter, in *Sacred Books of the East*, IV, Introd., p. lxxxvii).

Thus, in Euphratean idea, besides the Death-god and the Evening-goddess stands the mystic Dog, guardian of the good, terrible to the wicked; and the five mansions above mentioned have faithfully preserved the Euphratean connexion.

XVII.

DANNU-DAMU ("The Hero of the Sky-furrow") = *a Virginis* (*Spica*). "The furrow of heaven" = the ecliptic, and Δάωνος, the 6th antediluvian king, Dun (= Dannu), "the Hero," or "Mighty-one," is equated with *Spica*. The Eg. name of the star is somewhat similar in signification, Repâ ("the Lord," 'Governor'). The ordinary astronomical name of *Virgo* is *Ki* (cf. *Chi.* 14, *Ki-oh*), and in K. 12126 we meet with the *Kakkab* 𒀭𒆳 *χi-sê*, which may perhaps mean "the Propitious-one-of-wheat," and refer to *Spica*.*

= Per. 14. *Çpur* (= *a Virginis*), "the Point" (Av. *Çparegha*, 'point,' = *Spica*).

Sog. 14. *Shaghar* (= Same star), "the Point," = Per. 14.

Kho. 14. *Akhshafarn* (= Same star), "the Sign of the Point" (Per. *akh*, 'sign,' + *shafar* = *shaghar*).

Ind. 14. *Kitrâ* (= Same star), "the Conspicuous," 'Brilliant.'

Chi. 14. *Kioh*, anc. *Guik*, *Keok* (= Same star), "the Horn," 'Spike.'

Ar. 14. *Simak* (= Same star), "the Prop." The great star is a support of heaven, of the ecliptic-path, and of kosmic order generally. *Cf.* such concepts as Atlas; Mithra, "who upholds the columns of the lofty house"; and the Eg. god Shû, uplifter of the sky. The star is also called *As-Sumbuleh* ("the Ear of Corn"), Gk. Στάχυς.

Cop. 14. *Khoritos* (= Same star). Probably "the Solitary" (Ar. *ḥârid*, 'lonely'). *Cf.* No. XI, and Ind. 14. Chrysococcas calls it [*Spica*] μικρὸς κονταρίτος, "the little lance-bearer" (Smyth, *Celestial Cycle*, ii, 296). I have fully entered into the history of *Virgo* and *Spica* elsewhere,† and have given from the monuments representations of Istar-*Virgo* holding *Spica*. The Per. Sog., Kho., and Chi. asterisms have all carefully preserved "the point" of their original.

* For a Tablet picture of the zodiacal *Ear-of-corn*, vide R. B. Jr., *The Celestial Equator of Aratos*, p. 11, fig. 7.

† *Remarks on the Zodiacal Virgo* (*Yorks, Archaeological Journal*, Part XXXVI, 1886).

XVIII.

KURRA ("The Horse") = *α*, *β*, *γ*, *δ*, *ε* *Corvi*. On the Stone figured in *W.A.I.*, V, lvii, the *Two-headed Dog*, the *Horse*, and the *Crow* are depicted next each other, just as their asterisms adjoin each other; and here, the patron-divinity of the asterism is *Im-dugud-χu* ("the Great Storm-bird") = *Corvus*, who elsewhere (*W.A.I.*, III, liii, No. 1, Ob., lines 26–7) appears in a stellar aspect, as *Kakkab Im-dugud-χu*, in As. *Ramânu ikabbid* ("the Storm-god is terrible"). The figure of the *Horse* shows a horse's head and neck, not winged;* and there is thus a close connexion between the *Horse* and the constellation Corvus, the *Kakkab Kurra* being ultimately identical, or identified, with the *Kakkab Im-dugud-χu*. The heavens show various constellations of the same name, one reason for this being the fact that it is often easier to reproduce an existing idea than to work out a fresh one; and thus we have two *Bears*, *Dogs*, *Lions*, *Horses* (*Pegasus* and *Equuleus*), etc. So, it is quite unnecessary to conclude hastily that the *Horse* in question must be *Pegasus*; but the latter has faded from the later zodiac, his place being taken by the *Crow*. I have not met with any record of the *Kakkab Kurra* except here.

= Ind. 13. *Hasta* (= *α*, *β*, *γ*, *δ*, *ε* *Corvi*), "the Hand" (Av. *zaçta*, Old Per. *daçta*, 'hand'). It is possible that the asterism may have been compared to an outspread hand, but the name is not one of an archaic character; and it is far more probable that *hasta* here is a corruption of Sk. *asva*, Lith. *aszva*, Av. *aspa*, 'horse.'

Chi. 13. *Tchin*, anc. *Kusaṁ* (= Same stars), "the Crossbar of a chariot." Here, again, the shape of the asterism may possibly have suggested the name; or *Kusa*(*m*) may be a reminiscence of *Ku-rra*. The idea of 'horse' seems to be preserved to some extent.

XIX.

LULIM ("The He-goat"), = *ι*, *κ*, *λ* *Virginis*. Prof. Sayce observes that "*lulim* signified both 'king' and 'stag'" (*Transactions*, iii, 169);† and "*Lubat* in the bilingual list is identified with *lulimu* [a word taken from the Ak. *lulim*], and that word with *sar*, 'king' or 'leader,' from the idea of the ram or he-goat taking the lead of the flock." (Rev. Wm. Houghton, in *Ibid.*, v, 45.) We are not here

* As to *Pegasus*, vide R. B. Jr., *The Celestial Equator*, sec. xi.

† He quotes *W.A.I.* II, vi, 8, 31, 41 in illustration.

concerned with the *Ram* of the solar zodiac, but with the He-goat of the lunar zodiac, which appears with other lunar figures on the monuments (vide *W.A.I.*, III, xlv); and the name of this *Sar* or 'Flock-leader' is faithfully preserved in five of the Derivatives. *Lulim* is also a name of *Saturn* (*W.A.I.*, II, xviii, 52; *Proceedings*, June, 1893, p. 469) as leader of the planetary flock in the remoteness of space.

= Per. 15. *Huçru* (= ι, κ, λ *Virginis*), "the Good-goer" (Av. *Huçrayano*, from Av. *hu*, Gk. εὖ, 'well,' + Av. *çri*, "to advance").

Sog. 15. *Sarwa* (= Same stars), "the Leader" (Av. *sara*, Per. *sar*, 'head,' *sarwar*, 'chief,' 'head').

Kho. 15. *Shushak* (= Same stars), perhaps a corruption of Sog. 15; but *cf.* Per. *shahâz*, "the leading He-goat of the flock."

Chi. 15. *Kang*, anc. *Shukan* (= Same stars), said to mean "the Strong," "the Opposing." Very likely *Shuka(n)* = Kho. *Shusha(k)*. As noticed, final letters are frequently added in the corrupt and borrowed forms of the names of the asterisms.

Ar. 15. *Al-Gafr* (= Same stars), "the young Ibex," not "*al-Ghafr* (of uncertain sense)," and by some explained as "the Covering," an expression of which various futile explanations have been given.

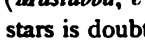
Cop. 15. *Khambalia* = Same stars), "the Crooked-clawed" (Gk. καμψωλή, = καμψότην. Hêsychios), *i.e.*, the tips of the bent claws of *Scorpio*, extending through Χηλαί (= *Libra*).

One of the Derivatives here shows a remarkable and most unwarranted variation:—

Ind. 15. *Svati* (= α *Boötis*), "the Good-goer" (Sk. *su*, Av. *hu*, 'well,' and the root *at*, "to go constantly," 'walk'), = Per. 15. The asterism is also naturally known as *Nishtya* ("the External"). The Hindu adapters evidently despised the comparatively insignificant stars of No. XIX, and determined to include the magnificent *Arcturus*, although unsuitable; but, at the same time, they preserved the name of "Good-goer," which, however, had no meaning in this new connexion.

XX.

MULU IZI ("The Man of Fire"), = (probably) μ *Virginis* and ĉ *Librae*. With this asterism is associated the star-god Latarak, who, as appears from the Planisphere K. 8538, was connected with this part of the heavens; and who is also mentioned in K. 9741 with

other star-gods, *e.g.*, the Honey-god ( , As. *'ilu Nisdispi*) and the *Twins* (*Mastabba*, δ and ϵ *Virginis*). The comparatively small size of the stars is doubtless the reason why the asterism only appears in two of the Derivatives.

= Sog. 16. *Fasarwa* (probably = μ *Virginis* and δ *Librae*), "the One next to the Leader" (Per. *fa* = *wa*, "opposite to," + *Sarwa*, vide Sog. 15). This closely defines the position of the asterism.

Kho. 16. *Sara-fsariwa* (probably = same stars), "the Chief one next to the Leader," *i.e.*, next to the asterism, ι, κ, λ *Virginis*.

XXI.

BILAT ("The Lady") = α and β *Librae*. "The Lady" = "Beltis of Babylon," who is further defined as "the Might of the Abode of life," *i.e.*, Babylon. We only get here a connexion between the asterism and a particular goddess, not the actual name of the former, which we know from other passages was *Sugi* ("the Chariot-yoke," vide *Proceedings*, May, 1893, p. 328, *et seq.*); and we find that "in the night the king presents his freewill offering . . . to Beltis of Babylon before the constellation of the *Chariot*." * I am aware that this latter constellation may be the *Wain;* but, even in this case, a special connexion between Bilat and chariot-stars is established. The Derivatives are naturally mainly concerned with the *Claws* of the *Altar*-embracing (vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, p. 260, *et seq.*) *Scorpion*.

= Per. 16. *Çrob* (= α and β *Librae*), "the Horned" (Av. *çru* = *çrva*, 'horn,' *çruvara*, 'horned'). "Nom d'un monstre" (De Harlez), and here referring to the *Scorpion*, a monster in size (*cf.* Aratos, *Phai.*, 643), the huge claws sticking out in frout of the body being compared to horns. The horns of the *Scorpion* are alluded to in K. 2894, l. 6 (*Proceedings*, May, 1893, p. 321).

Sog. 17. *Ghanwand* (= Same stars), "the Claw-possessing" (Per. *Chang*, 'claw,' + *wand*, 'possessing' (*cf.* Sog. 6).

Kho. 17. *Ighnuna* (= Same stars), "the Claw-possessing," a corruption of Sog. 17, viz.:

I-ghn-un-(a)
Gh(a)n-wan-(d)

Ind. 16. *Viçâkhâ* (= ι, γ, β, α *Librae*), "the Fork," *i.e.*, 2 forked branches, a derivative way of referring to the 2 *Claws*.

* Vide "A hemerology of the intercalary mouth of Elul," ap. Sayce, in *Rel. Anct. Babs.*, p. 74.

Also called *Râdhâ*, *i.e.*, standing with the feet a span apart, like 2 forked branches.

Chi. 16. *Ti*, anc. *Dzi*, earlier *I-shi* (= *α*, *β*, *γ*, *ζ Librae*), "the Foundation" (*cf.* Ak. *Isi*, 'mountain,' 'heap'). A very important name (cf. *inf.*, No. XXII).

Ar. 16. *Az-zubânân* (= *α*, *β Librae*), "the Two-claws," *α Librae* being *Zuben-el-genu-bi* ("the Southern-claw"), and *β Librae Zuben-el-chemali* ("the Northern-claw").

Cop. 16. *Pritithi* (= Same stars), "the Two-claws" (Eg., *pet*, 'claw,' + *ti*, 'two,'—*prit-i-thi*).

XXII.

ENTENAMASLUV = ENTEMASMUR ("The Lord of the Foundation, the Hero of the Brickwork"). As a lunar asterism, it = 20 *Librae* and stars adjoining. As a constellation, it = *Hydra*, wholly or in part.* There are few more difficult questions in Bab. astronomy than the explanation of this star, asterism, or constellation,† but, in addition to my previous remarks, I would add the following suggestions:—

The name appears to signify 'Lord' (, Ak. *en*, As. *belu*) of the 'foundation' (, Ak. *te*, *tena*, abraded forms of Ak. *dimmena*, As. *temennu*, 'foundation-stone'), the 'hero' (Ak. *mas*) of the 'bricks' or 'brickwork' (, Ak. *mur*, As. *labinu*); and the reference is to the famous Zikkurat or "terraced tower" of Babel-Babylon,‡ the original *Altar-tower* of the 7th or *Libra* month, Tisri, called in Ak. Tul-ku ("the Holy Altar"), and which *Altar-tower* appears with other lunar figures on the Stone of Merôdaχ Baladan I. This explains the position of the asterism at the base of *Libra*, the Sign and season connected with the Tower, and also shows the meaning of the Chi. name *Ishi-Ti* (*sup.*); whilst *Sîru-etsen-tsiri* (*W.A.I.*, II, xlix, 47), "the Limb Tip-of-the-Tail," the As. explanation of *Entenamasluv*, marks the position of the asterism at the end of the tail of *Hydra*; for, as Jensen saw, it must be "in der Nähe der Ekliptik,"§ and cannot be the tail of the *Great Bear*, or of the

* Mr. J. F. Hewitt (*The Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, p. 371) identifies *Entenamasluv* with *Hydra*, but for other reasons.

† Vide *Proceedings*, Feb., 1890, pp. 195-6; May, 1893, pp. 330-1.

‡ Vide Simpson, *The Tower of Babel and the Birs Nimroud*, in *Transactions*, IX, 307, *et seq.*

§ *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 54.

Swan (Hommel), nor, again, is it the tail of the *Lion* (Hommel), *Antares* (Bertin), or *Aldebaran* (Oppert). *Entemasmur* is also called in As. *Xabatsiranu* (*W.A.I.*, II, xlix, 47), written *Xabatsi* in some passages, which "is probably the same word as *khabatsillu*, 'the lily,' which grows up like a tail" (Sayce, in *Transactions*, III, 170). *Etsen-tsiri* is equated with the Ak. *Gis-kun* ("Heaven-tail"). The insignificance of 20 *Librae* and the adjoining stars, coupled with the early disappearance of the *Altar-tower* as a Sign (vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, p. 262), accounts for the fact that the Asterism is not reproduced in any of the Derivatives.

But *Entemasmur*, as the references to it clearly show, is more than an obscure lunar mansion. In the month Tammuz, with which it is specially connected, at its rising it raises "the waves of the sea" (*W.A.I.*, III, lvii, No. 1, l. 12), and 'holds' *Jupiter* (*Ibid.*, III, lii, No. 1, ll. 17–18), with which it is connected (*Ibid.*, II, lvii, 48), being near the ecliptic. As 20 *Librae*, it is fixed 'behind' *Sugi* (*Ibid.*, III, liii, No. 1, Rev. l. 33), and "fixed at its extremity" (*Ibid.*, Ob., l. 10, *ina garni-su*), an expression which shows a double use of the term, as a thing cannot be fixed at its own extremity; and, hence, we are informed that "the asterism behind which it [either *Sugi* or *Eratu*] is fixed (is) the asterism *Entenamasluv*: the asterism *Entenamasluv* (=) *Kakkab Allab*," otherwise *Allul*; and *Allab*, according to the *Te Tablet* (No. 85–4–30, 15), is the star of the 4th, or Tammuz, month, which I have found reason to identify with *Alphard* (*α Hydrae*).* In *W.A.I.*, III, lvii, No. 2, the *Kakkab Allab* (l. 7) = *Alphard*, and the *Kakkab Entenamasluv* (l. 9) = 20 *Librae*, etc. *Entenamasluv* is thus at one end of *Hydra*, and *Alphard* nearly at the other; and *Entenamasluv* is, or is an equivalent of, *Allab*, in the sense that they both form part of the *Great* (Sea) *Serpent*, which appears on the monuments, but is far too long to form a single lunar asterism.

XXIII.

GISGANGUSUR ("The Tree of the Garden of Light"), otherwise rendered "the Light of the Hero" (Ak. *gusur*, cf. Turkic *ghazi*, 'hero'), = *β*, *δ*, *π Scorpionis*. This asterism, like No. XI, is described as "the weapon of the hand of Merôdaχ"; and, hence, is curved, like the *Scimetar* and No. XII, and this idea of circularity reappears

* Vide R. B. Jr., in the *Academy*, Nov. 4, 1893, p. 396.

in the names of the Ar. and Cop. Derivatives. In *W.A.I.*, II, lvii 47 the *kakkab Gangusur* and 5 other stars are in some way connected with *Lubat-guttav* (*Jupiter*).

= Per. 17. *Nur* (=*β*, *δ*, *π Scorpionis*), "the Bright" (*cf.* Per. *nur*, "rays of light," *naur*, 'shining'). It is noticeable that the Ak. *gan* = As. *nuru*, 'light,' a name which might have been handed on to Persia.

Sog. and Kho. 18. *Bighanwand* (= Same stars), "the Clawless" (Per. *bi*, 'without' + *Ghanwand*, Sog. 17), *i.e.*, the *Scorpion* without its *Claws*, which belong to the previous Sign.

Ind. 17. *Anurâdhâ* (= Same stars). Said to mean "Causing-welfare" (M. Williams), "the Blissful" (Max Müller), or "the Completed" (Kingsmill); but probably merely meaning "After-*Râdhâ*" (vide Ind., 16), and thus showing that the original name of the asterism had been lost.

Chi. 17. *Fang*, anc. *Fong* (=*β*, *δ*, *π*, *ρ Scorpionis*), "the Room," *i.e.*, enclosure (*cf.* Ak. *gan*, 'garden'). The sign 𒂗, Ak. *gis*, 'tree,' has also the variant phonetic values *su*, *mu*; and in Chinese we find the following words for 'tree,' "Chi. Nankin *shû*, *muh*; Chi. Pekin *shû*, *mû*; Chi. Canton *shü*, *muk*; Chi. Shanghai, *zü*; Amoy colloquial *Ch'in*."*

As. 17. *Al-Iklil* (*β*, *δ*, *π Scorpionis*), "the Crown."

Cop. 17. *Stephani* (= Same stars), "the Crown" (Gk. στέφανος).

XXIV.

DAR-LUGAL ("The Great-one, the King") = *α Scorpionis* (*Antares*). The patron-divinty of the asterism is Lugal-tudda ("the Lusty-king"), who is "the Zu-bird," "the divine Storm-bird"; and, similarly, Ξὐεδώρανχος (= *Udda-an-χu*, "the Day-heaven-bird," originally the Sun), the 7th antediluvian king, is equated with *Antares*.

= Per. 18. *Gel* (= *α Scorpionis*), "the Red" (Per. *gil*, "red earth like vermilion"; *gul*, 'red'). *Antares* is one of those stars called by Ptolemy ὑπόκιρρος ("reddish-yellow"), and is particularly connected with "the red planet" *Mars*. It is probably the *kakkab* 𒀭𒂗𒆤, *Bir* ('Vermilion').

Sog. 19. *Maghan Sadwis* (= Same stars), "the Great-one, saffron coloured" (*Maghan* = *Magha*, Sog. 10, with "the on-hanging N";

* Hunter, *The Non-Aryan Languages of India and High Asia*, p. 162.

+Av. *jairi*, Per. *zard*, Sk. *harit*, 'yellow,' 'saffron-coloured,' Per. *zardi*, 'yellowness').

Kho. 19. *Dharind* (= Same star), "the Seizer" (Av. *dar*, *dhar*, "to hold," Per. *harrâr*, a name of the *Cor Scorpionis*.) Probably originally derived from the Ak. *girtab* ('scorpion'), 'seizer-and-stinger;' and hence specially applied to the chief star of the (solar) *Scorpion*.

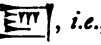
Ind. 18. *Rohinî*, "the Red" (*cf.* Ind. 4), also called *Jyeshthâ* (= *α*, *σ*, *τ Scorpionis*), "the Oldest." This name is said to indicate "its position as the original head of the series," an opinion which I do not accept; for "the *Krittikâs* occupy the first place in all the ancient lists of the [Hindu] Nakshatras" (Max Müller, *Rig-Veda-Samhita*, iv, 31). The reference is probably originally mythological, and the title has been borrowed without being understood. The Scorpion, as a type of Darkness (vide *Proceedings*, February, 1890, p. 198) is "the Oldest."

Chi. 18. *Ho*, "Fire," *Ho-sing*, "the Fire-star." Also called *Sin*, anc. *Sam* (= Same stars), "the Heart." Not, as might be expected, the *Cor Scorpionis*. "The name is probably of comparatively modern introduction and refers to the *Ts'ing Lung* (the Blue Dragon) of the quadripartite division of the zodiac, of which it forms a fair centre" (Kingsmill).

Ar. 18. *Al-Ḳalb* (= *α Scorpionis*), "the Heart," = *Cor Scorpionis*, *Kalb Al-akrab* (Ulugh Beigh).

Cop. 18. *Kharthian* (= Same star), "the Heart" (Gk. *καρδία*, with "the on-hanging N").

XXV.

MULU-BAT ("The Man of death") = *ε*, *ζ Ophiuchi*. "The 7 Wicked Spirits" are called in the Ak. version of their legend "Men-of-death," which is rendered in the As. translation "Serpents-of-death."* The name might mean "the Old-man." *Ophiuchus* is elsewhere referred to as *Nu-tsir-da* (K. 2894, Ob., l. 20), As. *Rubu-tsiri* ("Prince-of-the-Serpent"); and in *W.A.I.*, V, xlvi, No. 1, l. 44, the *Kakkab Nutsirda* is connected with the god *Sa-gi-mu*, apparently the god of invocation, whose name is ideographically expressed by  , *i.e.*, 'mouth' + 'invoke.'

* Vide Sayce, in Smith's *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 102.

= Per. 19. *Garafsa* (= ζ, η, ξ, θ *Ophiuchi*), "the Serpent-tamer" (Av. *gara*, 'poison,' + Per. *afsa*, 'wizard'). So the Per. *Mar-afsa* is "a serpent-tamer."

Sog. 20. *Bastham* (= ζ, η *Ophiuchi*), "the Bound" (Per. *basta*, 'bound,' 'tied'), *i.e.*, *Ophiuchus* enveloped in the coils of *Ophis*.

Kho. 20. *Sardhiwa* (= Same stars), "the Head of the Evil-one" (Av. *Çara-daêvahe*, Per. *dev*, *div*, Sk. *deva*).

XXVI.

TSIR ("The Snake" = *Ophis*), = η, ξ, θ *Ophiuchi*.

= Sog. 21. *Wajrik* (= ξ, θ *Ophiuchi*), "the Magician" (Av. *Yatu*, 'Evil-genius,' Per. *jadu*, 'conjurer,' *jaduzan*, 'magician,' *I* implies relation, *e.g.*, *Hind-i*, 'Indian,' *Wa-j-(u) r-i*, + an arbitrary final letter (here *k*), so frequently added to these corrupted names, = 'Magician.'

Kho. 21. *Markhashik* (= Same stars), "the Serpent-bitten" (Per. *mar-gazid-a*, 'snake-bitten'). The Sog. and Kho. schemes do not clearly distinguish between *Ophiuchus* and *Ophis*, which are, similarly, one constellation in the Hipparcho-Ptolemy Star-list.

Cop. 19. *Tshiô* (= η, ξ, θ *Ophiuchi*), "the Snake" (Eg. *shi*, 'snake'); also called *Aggia*, "the Magician" (Eg. *ak*, "kind of superior," 'Magus.' Birch, in Bunsen's *Egypt's Place*, v, 342).

It thus appears that Nos. XXV and XXVI of the Euphratean lunar zodiac, being asterisms which do not appear in the solar zodiac, have been faithfully preserved in three, if not in four, of the Derivatives; and it is especially curious to find them in the comparatively late Cop. list. It is further quite clear that the Per., Sog., and Kho. schemes in the East, and the Cop. in the West, had a common original; for, if the Cop. scheme had been copied from the Per., it would only have had a name for *Ophiuchus*, and not also for *Ophis*; and if it had been copied from the Sog. or Kho. schemes, it would have had two asterisms, instead of only one. The Euphratean scheme was not limited to 28 asterisms, as are the Derivatives; and the Ind., Ar., and Chi. schemes have perhaps dropped Nos. XXV and XXVI, in order to reduce the number of asterisms, just as all the Derivatives ignore Nos. VIII, XXII, and XXVIII. Prof. Hommel suggests that the "Death-star" (*i.e.*, MULU-BAT) may be κ *Virginis*; the *Snake* μ or α *Serpentis*; the *Scorpion* (GIRTAB) δ and β *Scorpionis*; and URBAT, which he calls

the *Jackal*, *Antares* (*Die Astron.*, iii, 16). But, it is only when the Euphratean list is studied in connexion with the Derivatives, that it can be properly understood. Thus, *Tablet S.* 162 (of which I have given a copy in the *Proceedings*, May, 1893, p. 332) shows that URBAT was no part of the (solar) zodiacal *Scorpion*.

XXVII.

GIRTAB ("The Scorpion"), = θ, ι, κ, λ, υ *Scorpionis*. The *Scorpion*, like the *Sea-goat*, is a figure which appears both in the solar and the lunar zodiac; the solar *Scorpion*, at times called *Gir-an-na* ("Scorpion-of-heaven"), being the constellation as we know it, and the lunar *Scorpion* the above asterism. Few of the mansions more clearly indicate the pristine unity of the various schemes.

= Per. 20. *Vanant* (=θ, ι, κ, λ, υ *Scorpionis*), "the Stinger" (Av. *van*, "to strike," *-ant* pres. part. ending. "Vana*n*t means 'who smites'" (Darmesteter, in *Sacred Books of the East*, xxiii, 97, n. 6). "The *Vanant Yasht* is a prayer addressed to the star *Vanant*, by which the Dasturs understand the Milky Way" (Haug, *Essays*, p. 217). The basis of this error, which illustrates the location of the asterism, is that the *Via Lactea* runs through *Scorpio* and *Girtab*. *Vanant* is one of the four chief asterisms in the Persian stellar scheme. "*Tistar* [*Sirius*] is the chieftain of the East, *Çataves* [*Çatavaeça*, Per. 25] the chieftain of the South [vide *Bundahis*, xiii, 2], *Vanand* the chieftain of the West, *Haptôkrîng* [the *Wain*] the chieftain of the North" (*Ibid.*, ii, 7), an illustration of the great importance of the *Scorpion*, which is so frequently referred to in the Tablets.

Sog. 22. *Vanand* (= Same stars), "the Stinger," = Per. 20. "When a sheep is slaughtered . . . the *testes* are for the star Vanand" (*Shâyast Lâ-Shâyast*, xi, 4, ap. E. W. West). *Cf.* the position of the *Scorpion* and the Bull on Mithraic monuments.*

Kho. 22. *Khachman* (= Same stars), "the Curved" (Per. *kazh*, 'curved,' *Kazh-dum*, 'Crook-tail,' a name of the Sign *Scorpio*).

Ind. 19. *Vikṛitau* (=ε, μ, ζ, η, θ, ι, κ, λ, υ *Scorpionis*), "the Destroyer"; also called *Mûla*, "the Root." If this be the original meaning of the name, the reference is probably to the asterism as the 'tail' or 'basis' of *Scorpio*; but it is quite possible that here,

* Vide R. B. Jr., in the *Academy*, March, 23, 1895, p, 259.

as in Chi. 3, we have the Euphratean *Mul, i.e.*, "the (important) Asterism."

Chi. 19. *Wei*, anc. *Mi*, *Vi* (=ε, μ^2 *Scorpionis*), "the Tail"; of the "Blue Dragon" in the later astronomy (*cf.* Chi. 18) but probably originally referring to *Girtab*.

Ar. 19. *Ash-Shaulah* (= λ, *v Scorpionis*), "the Sting."

Cop. 20. *Minamref* (= Same stars), "the Sting" (Cop. *mamref*, reduplicated form of *meref*,= Lat. *spiculum*, 'sting').

XXVIII.

URBAT ("the Beast-of-death"), = *a*, *β*, *γ*, *δ Lupi*. This creature, the Θηρίον of Ptolemy, appears on the monuments with his brother URBARRA (No. II), but is properly excluded from the schemes of the Derivatives.*

XXIX.

ANUNITUM ("The Great Goddess," *i.e.*, Istar),=λ, *μ Sagittarii*. And SINUNUTUM ("the Swallow"), As. *Sinuntuv*, Rabbinical *Senunîtha*, Ak. *nam-χu* ("The Destiny-bird"), = *γ*, *δ*, ε *Sagittarii*. The two asterisms are side by side, like the Tigris and Euphrates, to which they are respectively dedicated. Istar, the Bow-goddess, and the Euphrates, "the Curving-river," are naturally connected with the constellation of the *Bow*. A Bird, which may be the Swallow, appears with other lunar zodiacal figures on the monuments. The annual migrations of the Swallow connect it alike with destiny (as a prophetic bird), and with the autumn (*Sagittarius*) season.

= Per. 21. *Gau* (= *Sagittarius*, particularly the *Bow*-stars), "the Bull" (Av. *gâo*, 'ox,' 'cow,' 'bull'), = *Arcitaurus* (*Sagittarius*). So the *Centaur*, a variant of *Sagittarius*, is called on the monuments *Gud-etim* ("the Horned-bull." Vide *Proceedings*, Jan., 1895, p. 16).

Sog. and Kho. 23. *Yaugh* (= Same stars), "the Bull," = Per. 21.

Ind. 20. *Purva-Ashâdhâ* (= *δ*, ε *Sagittarii*). Said to mean "the Former Unconquered-one"; also called *Âpya* ("the Stout," 'Strong'). An unoriginal name probably astrological. The Ind. 20 and 21 are represented by two elephants' tusks, which give the ideas of 'horn,' and 'curved.'

Chi. *Ki*, anc. *Kit* (= *δ*, ε, *γ Sagittarii*), "the Sieve"—from the shape. "The commentators tell us that his name was Lii *yü*." (Kingsmill. *Cf.* Sog. 23.)

* Vide *Proceedings*, May, 1893, p. 332, fig. 1.

Ar. 20. *An-Na'aim* (=γ, δ, η, ϵ, ϕ, σ, τ, ζ *Sagittarii*), "the Ostriches." Whether the group be an arbitrary invention or not, the idea of a bird and the Ak. swallow-name *Nam* are preserved in it.

Cop. 21. *Polis* (= *Sagittarius*, particularly the *Bow*-stars), "the Foal" (Gk. πῶλος), the Hippocentaur.

XXX.

GUŚIRABBA ("The Yoke of the Sea"), = ζ, σ, π *Sagittarii*. *Cf.* No. X. These stars form a 'yoke' thrown across the ecliptic near the commencement of the great Sea which extends thence to *Aries*, and includes *Capricornus*, *Piscis*, *Aquarius*, *Pisces*, and *Cetus*. On the Tablet (Rev. l. 1) GUŚIRABBA is identified with the *kakkab* NUN-KI, "pronounced Nunpê, according to 82. 8–16, 1 Obv., 21," and meaning "the Lordly-city," *i.e.*, Eridu, an archaic centre of the Êa-cult, and once "at the mouth of the Euphrates and on the edge of the Persian Gulf,"* and thus a "Yoke of the Sea." Hence the *rôle* of GUŚIRABBA as the patron asterism of the seaport town of Eridu. The ecliptic thus appears as a 'Yoke' at *Cancer* and *Capricorn*.

= Ind. 21. *Uttara-Ashâdhâ* (= σ, ζ *Sagittarii*), "the Latter Unconquered-one."

Chi. 21. *Tou*, anc. *Deu* (= σ, τ, ζ, ϕ, λ, μ *Sagittarii*), "the Ladle." A popular name from the shape.

Ar. 21. *Al-Baldah* (= space north of π *Sagittarii*), "the Hairless space between the eyebrows." A comparatively starless region, part of the *Kumaru Udgudua* ("the Dusky" part of *Sagittarius*. Vide *Proceedings*, Jan., 1895, p. 25).

XXXI.

MUNAχA ("The Goat-fish") = *Capricorn*, including ϵ, μ, ν *Aquarii*. In previous articles (Vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, pp. 267–8; April, 1892, p. 229 *et seq.*) I have fully treated of this Sign, which has remained unaltered in both lunar and solar zodiacs.

= Per. 22. *Goi* (= *Capricorn*). Perhaps "the Dawn" (*Cf.* Per. *gâh*, 'time,' "the dawn," "the Sign Capricorn"). This illustrates my observation "Nebô, in origin, is 'the Sun of the Dawn' . . . and thus, as an ultimate analysis, Nebô and *Capricorn* are identical'

* Sayce, *Rel. Anct. Babs.*, p. 135.

(*Proceedings*, Jan., 1890, p. 151). Perhaps *Goi* is simply the Ak. χα, "the (Goat) Fish." Mr. Kingsmill identifies *Goi* with the "Zend Gaoya (the Ox leader)." Vide Chi. 22.

Chi 22. *Niu, Ngeu*, anc. *Ngu, Gu* (= α, β, ν *Capricorni*), "the Ox." This naturally reminds us of the Per. 21, and it is possible that the same original name may have been applied in China to a different asterism. But it is to be observed that the eighth antediluvian king, who is equated with *Algedi* (α *Capricorni*), is Ἀμέμψινος (=*Amar-Sin*), "the Ox of the Moon"; and the word *amar* may very likely include small cattle, such as the goat.

Ar. 22. *Sa'd adh Dhâbiḥ* (= α, β *Capricorni*), "Luck the sacrificer," or "the Lucky asterism of the Slaughterer," Ak. *Śakśadi* ("Bright-horn-of-slaughter"), = β *Capricorni* (Vide *Proceedings*, Jan., 1895, p. 35).

Cop. 22. *Eupeutôs* (= Same stars), "the Fortunate" (Gk. εὐπετής, "falling-well"—of dice).

Chi. 23. *Niu*, anc. *Nok*, also called *Mu*, anc. *Mo* (= ε, μ, ν. *Aquarii*). Said to mean "the Woman," which is evidently not the original signification. *Cf.* Ak. *nuk*, "to sacrifice," and Ar. 22.

Ar. 23. *Sa'd Bula* (= Same stars), "Greedy *Sa'd*," "because the larger star seems to swallow the smaller" (Robertson Smith).

Cop. 23. *Upeuritos* (= Same stars), "the Discoverer" (Gk. ἐφευρετής, "one who discovers beside another")—of the smaller star (*cf.* Ar. 23).

This completes the stellar circle, and it only remains to notice several instances in which the Derivatives, attracted by brighter stars, have incorrectly left the legitimate ground of the lunar zodiac:—

α, ε, ζ *Lyrae* = Ind. 22. *Abhijit* ("The Victorious"). "An outsider" (Whitney).

α, β, γ *Aquilae* = Per. 23. *Muru* ("The Bird"), Av. *meregha*, 'bird.'

Sog. 24. *Shad Mashir* ("The Noble Falcon"). *Cf.* Per. *shahbaz*, "noblest falcon."

Kho. 24. *Sadmasij* ("The Noble Falcon"), = Sog. 24.

Ind. 23. *Çravana* ("The Seizer"). The idea of a Bird (*cf.* No. XXIX) is preserved in these names.

α, β, γ, δ *Delphini* = Ind. 24. *Çravishthâ* ("The Most-glorious"). A name probably originally connected with some part of No. I.

NOTE ON ASTERISM NO. XV.

LAMAS. In the text I have followed the customary rendering of this word, *i.e.*, 'colossus,' which is, of course, merely a paraphrase, the *lamaśśi* being the colossal statues at the entrance of temples, personifications of the propitious guardian Genii of the place (*vide Proceedings*, Feb., 1890, p. 193). But LAMAS, as noticed (*sup.* p. 29), is translated by the scribe "the Burning-of-fire"; and we are able to prove the correctness of this rendering by comparison with the corresponding words in certain dialects connected, though remotely, with the Sum.-Ak. LAM, LAMMA, LAMAS = the Magyar *Láng*, lat. *flamma ignis.* = Bab. *Mikid-isati* ("The Burning-of-fire"), Finnic *Loimu* ('Strong-flame'), *loimua* ("to flame"). The Turko-Tatar dialects do not employ an initial *l*, but replace it by *j* (*e.g.*, Magyar *lélék*, 'soul,' = Os. *jel*, 'wind,' Ostiak *ljil*, 'ghost,' = Sum.-Ak. LIL, 'ghost,' whence As. *lilatu*, Heb. *Lileth*); hence a Sum.-Ak. LAM, LAV. becomes in Turko-Tatar *jav*, *jar*, *jal*, "to gleam," 'burn,' 'flame,' etc., *e.g.*, Tchagatai *jalau*, 'flame. The *Lamaśśi*, therefore, are "the Burning-ones," and the name is equivalent to the Heb. Serâphîm, who have been incorrectly explained by certain modern writers as Dragons (*vide* Goldziher, *Mythology among the Hebs.*, Eng. edit., p. 197).

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 4th February, 1896, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

P. le P. Renouf, *President.* The Symbols on Funeral Stelæ.

Rev. Dr. M. Friedlander. Some Fragments of the Hebrew Bible, with peculiar abbreviations, and a peculiar system of vowel signs.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31ST, 1895.

1895.	Dr.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	To Balance in hand				90	4	0
	,, Subscriptions—	£	s.	d.			
	For the Year 1895 ...	375	12	3			
	,, Arrears from former years	76	14	9			
	,, Payments in advance	22	1	0			
		474	8	0			
	,, Less Subscriptions returned	1	1	3			
					473	6	9
	,, Donation, Mr. Walter Morrison, M.P....				10	0	0
	,, Donations towards printing Transactions, Vol. IX				1	11	6
	,, Sales of Transactions, &c.				54	17	11
	,, Dividends, 1 year, on £123 14s. 3d. 2¾% Consols				3	8	0
	,, Rent, Egypt Exploration Fund, 1895 ...				85	0	0
					£718	8	2
1896.							
Jan 1.	,, Balance brought forward				80	1	10

ASSETS.

Subscriptions still outstanding.
Library Furniture and Effects at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.
The Transactions and Proceedings in stock.
Reserve Fund for Premises in 2¾% Consols.

W. HARRY RYLANDS, *Secretary.*

1895.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	By Expenditure to date, viz.:—			
	,, Rent	125	0	0
	,, Rates, Taxes, 1895	58	15	7
	,, Printing Proceedings, etc	301	4	8
	,, Engraving, &c.	15	16	0
	,, Subscriptions to Foreign Journals ...	6	8	9
	,, Stationery, Office Expenses, etc.	13	11	9
	,, Secretary, on account	75	0	0
	,, Official Auditor's Fee	2	2	0
	,, Postage	4	0	10
	,, Housekeeper and Sundries	20	8	2
	,, Fire Insurance	4	11	6
	,, Advertising, Furniture, etc.	11	7	1
	,, Balance carried forward to 1896	80	1	10
		£718	8	2

LIABILITIES.

Printing and Current Expenses accruing for 1896.
Printing Proceedings and Transactions, 1893.

Audited and found correct, 11th January, 1896,

W. J. HAYWOOD.
E. C. HULME.

37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.,
January 11th, 1896.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION, 1896.

Second Meeting, 4th February, 1896.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, ESQ., PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Author :—Dr. A. Wiedemann. Die Kulturbeziehungen Altägyptens zum Auslande. (Separat-abdruck aus den Bonner Jahrbüchern. Heft XCIX.) Bonn. 8vo. 1895.

From David J. Waugh : — Historical Scarabs ; a series of Drawings from the Principal Collections, arranged chronologically by W. M. Flinders Petrie. London. 8vo. 1889.

From Rev. R. Gwynne.—Where is Mount Sinai? by Prof. Edward Hull, LL.D., F.R.S., &c. Paper read before the Victoria Institute, 3rd February, 1896.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the last Meeting, held on the 14th January, 1896:—

William G. Jones, 6, Ashfield Terrace West, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Arthur E. Fardon, Vaudry Bank, Fleetwood.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting on March the 3rd:—

Mrs. Freeman Gell, 27, Bramham Gardens, South Kensington.
Edward John Pilcher, 49, Charlwood Street, South Belgravia, S.W.

A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf, President, on "The Symbols on Funeral Stelæ."

A Paper was read by the Rev. Dr. M. Friedlander, on "Some Fragments of the Hebrew Bible with peculiar Abbreviations, and a peculiar System of Vowel Signs," which will be printed in the March *Proceedings*.

Remarks were added by Dr. Gaster, Mr. W. G. Thorpe, Mr. Elkan Adler, and Dr. Friedlander.

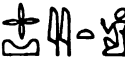
Thanks were returned for these communications.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

CHAPTER CXXV.

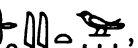
NOTES—*continued.*

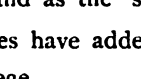
3. *Kindred,*  . The sign of plurality does not here, any more than in Chapter 1, necessarily imply more than one person. The crime in question is one to which men are easily tempted in certain stages of society. Abimelech, in the book of Judges (ix, 5), "slew his brethren, the sons of Jerubbaal." Jephthah had to "flee from the face of his brethren." Absalom had his brother Amnon assasinated, and all the king's sons fled in fear of sharing the same fate. Solomon put to death his elder brother Adonijah. Athaliah, the queen mother, "destroyed all the seed royal" of Judah. The annals of eastern* and even western† nations are full of such occurrences. But, in positions less exalted than that of claimants to royalty, ambition or covetousness are motives to crimes like that of the wicked uncle of 'the Babes in the Wood.' ‡

* "His sons were kept in prison, till they grew
Of years to fill a bowstring or a throne."

† To quote only well known cases, we have 'the massacre of the princes,' involving the two uncles and seven cousins of the Emperor Constantius, and those of our own King John and Richard III.

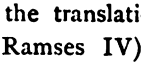
‡ The legislation of Solon is said by Diogenes Laertius (who is however contradicted by notorious evidence) to have excluded from the position of guardian anyone who had the right of succession to the ward's estate. And this was also the law of England with reference to guardians in socage. In France the next in succession had the charge of the estate, but was excluded from the custody of the person of the ward.

The reading  , which has for determinative the sign of *smallness*, seems to indicate that the victims of the crime are *minors*, perhaps *wards*.

Some of the papyri (even that of Nebseni) have a *calf*, , as determinative of the word, and as the 'slaying of calves' is not necessarily a crime, other scribes have added  , 'sacred,' and thus made the sin one of sacrilege.

The same word, like the Greek μόσχος and the Latin *pullus*, might be applied to the young of all kinds of animals; but the Egyptian scribes have in such cases a propensity to use a determinative which forces a wrong sense upon the word.

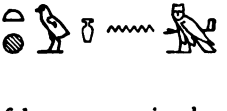
4. *Instead of truth*, . There are two ways according to which this expression may be translated, but only one of them can be the right one. is a compound preposition, *instead of, in loco, anstatt, au lieu de*, بمنزلة. And this is evidently the right construction. If be taken as the simple preposition governing , the meaning will be that the deceased did not "tell lies *in the cemetery*." The Pyramid Texts (Unas, 394) have the expression (*sic*), "Right instead of Wrong."

5. This is only an approximate version of a passage, the true text of which was lost at an early period. M. Maspero (*Origines*, p. 189) understands it as follows: "Je n'ai jamais imposé du travail à l'homme libre quelconque, en plus de celui qu'il faisait pour lui-même!" The last words are the translation of  , according to *Td.* (tomb of Ramses IV) all the other ancient texts having , '*for me*.' But the chief difficulties occur at the beginning of the sentence.

6. *Shorten the palm's length*, . Many papyri read , which is a superficial measure, more in place under the next precept.

7. *The fields' measure*, .

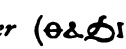
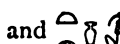
8. *The beam of the balance,* .

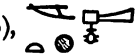
The tongue [rather *plummet*] *of the balance,*  .

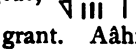
The balance is so frequently represented in false perspective by Egyptian artists, that Sir J. G. Wilkinson has given an account of it, which is quite unintelligible to those who have ever so moderate a knowledge of statics. Mr. Petrie's description is the true one. "The beam was suspended by a loop or ring from a bracket projecting from the stand. . . . Then below the beam, a long tongue was attached, not above the beam as with us. To test the level of the beam, a plummet hung down the tongue, and it was this plummet which was observed to see if the tongue was vertical and the beam horizontal."—*A Season in Egypt*, p. 42.

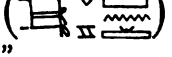
In Pl. XXXV, a few pictures will be found which give a more correct notion of the Egyptian balance than some of the absurd representations which defy a scientific explanation.

It is evident that if the tongue is fastened at a wrong angle, the beam will not really be horizontal when the tongue is shown by the plummet line to be vertical. This seems to be the fraud alluded to in the text.

The word , the name given to the plummet, apparently signifies a cup *full* of liquid. It is etymologically identical with  , *a toper* (ⲟⲩⲁϩⲓ, ⲧⲱϩⲉ, *ebrius, ebrietas*),  , ⲧⲓϩⲓ, *a crane*, and the crane-god, Thoth.

The apparatus of which the plummet forms so important a part, whether for the balance or for building purposes, is called  (*Denkm.*, III, 26), .

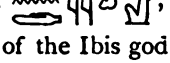
9. *The manors of the gods,*  . I understand as property acquired by royal grant. Aâhmes at El Kab says that he has *acquired* much land through the royal bounty. The deceased in the later copies of the Book of the Dead (Ch. 1, 24), acquires the allotment of land, , in the Garden of Aarru, and Ani (Pl. III) acquires "a permanent

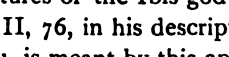
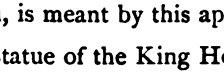
allotment  in the Garden of Hotepit like the followers of Horus."

10. *Ponds.* The right reading is , as Birch already noted in his *Dictionary*, from the excellent papyrus *Ao* of the XVIIIth dynasty.

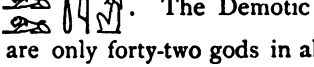
Hieratic papyri also give the determinative .

The determinative which some of the papyri give to the word, and which is a self-evident blunder, is probably copied either from , or from . The sign , and a man striking with an instrument, which also occur, are mere symbols of the operation by which either *quarries*, or *ponds*, are *cut*.

11. *Thou of the Nose*, or rather *Beak*,  , in allusion to one of the chief characteristic features of the Ibis god (*πρόσωπον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπίγρυπον; Herodotus*, II, 76, in his description of the bird). Thoth, the god of Chemunnu, is meant by this appellative.

He is so called,  , on the statue of the King Horus in the Museum of Turin (l. 8), and  on the very much more ancient altar, of the VIth dynasty, belonging to the same museum. The same appellative* is found in the list of gods upon each of the Memphite cubits described by Lepsius.†

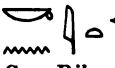
12. *Eater of the Shadow.* The Demotic version interprets this of "his own shadow." I am rather inclined to interpret it by "the gnomons which were without shadows at noon," and the "well of Syene" (Strabo, 817) at the Summer Solstice; when the Sun was vertical.

13. *Thou of Lion form,*  . The Demotic has "Shu and Tefnut." But as there are only forty-two gods in all, we must here think of a single god with a lion's head, as in such pictures as *Wilkinson*, III, Pl. XLIX; *Denkm.*, III, 276, and many sarcophagi (*e.g.*, Leemans, *Mon.*, III, L, Pl. III).

Even some of the Theban papyri have two divinities by way of determinatives to the group.

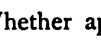
* The true sense of the name has been missed by Birch, who reads it Teti, and by Brugsch, who reads it "Chonti, der Anfängliche."

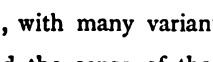
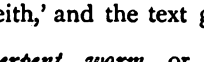
† *D. Aegyptische Elle*, Taf. 1 and 2.

14. *Sluggish,* ; ,  , *sluggishness.* Coptic ϭⲛⲁϩ. See my note (*Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, XI, p. 76) on the Inscription of Kum el Ahmar.

There are however other readings; none of them apparently of any value.

15. *Thou of the Bright Teeth,* . The Demotic equivalent is, "who openeth his teeth," and so exhibits their brightness.

16. *Âati,* , a name about which the copyists have bungled. It is one of the names of Râ in the Solar Litany, where it appears (l. 23) as , or  . Whether applied to the Sun, to the Fish of the name, or to a Ship, the name means *Cutter,* 'that which cleaves' its way.

17. *Ṭuṭu*[*f*?],  , with many variants, showing that the scribes did not understand the sense of the syllable , some of them adding the bird of evil , others the determinative of *mountain.* Such a name occurs nowhere else, but some papyri call him *Ṭuṭu,* and if this be an equivalent name the god may be recognised in later texts. In the Calendar of Esneh there is a feast on the 14th day of Thoth, in honour of  , Tutu,* 'the son of Neith,' and the text gives the important determinative , of a *serpent, worm,* or *slug.* I suspect, therefore, that we should in the text read the name Tutu, and consider as a determinative. The symbolism would then be identical with that in Pl. XXIII, illustrative of Chapter 87. The Sun-god there rises up like a worm out of the Lotus of Dawn, whereas in another picture a slug () is seen moving upon the flower.

, *Ati,* where the god makes his appearance, is the name of the ninth Nome of Lower Egypt.

18. *I trouble myself only with my own affairs.* I understand

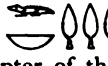
* This god's name is also written with a . But in the late periods no difference was made between the *t* sounds.

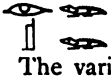
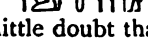
this of the virtue spoken of by Cicero (*de Officiis*, I, 34), "nihil praeter suum negotium agere, nihil de alieno anquirere, minimeque esse in aliena republica curiosum." It is the same to which Plato refers in the *Timaeus*, 72 A; εὖ καὶ πάλαι λέγεται τὸ πράττειν καὶ γνῶναι τὰ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἑαυτὸν σώφρονι μόνῳ προσήκειν, not in the sense of a selfish indifference to a neighbour's welfare or the public good, but in opposition to the ways of the busybodies, who tattle and "speak things which they ought not" (1 Tim., v, 13).

The Egyptian is a rare word. Brugsch's etymology of it is an impossible one, and his identification of it with is not less unfortunate.

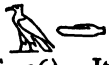
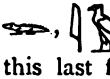
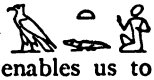
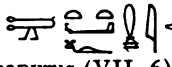
19. *Amu*, or *Amit*, , . This seems to be the favourite reading. It means the *town of Palm*. But, as the name was written ideographically, it appears in some copies as the town of other trees, such as *Nehait*, or *Nārit*.

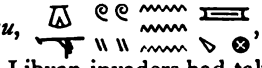
Amu was a place in the north of Egypt, which Brugsch thinks he has identified with a town called Apis (the site of which is itself doubtful).

The most interesting thing known about Amu (Dümichen, *Rec. de M.*, IV, Pl. XV, 90 *a*), is that in the rites performed on the 16 Choiak, Horus is represented as raising up the body of Osiris out of the water in the form of a crocodile; and that Osiris was known under the name of  , *The Crocodile, Lord of Amu*.

The 142nd chapter of the Book of the Dead, which gives a list of the names of Osiris, has (l. 17) that of  , 'Osiris of Crocodile form,' or 'with Crocodile head.'* The variants of this group, however, show the reading  , 'king,' or , 'of kingly form.' There is but little doubt that (as M. Naville says, *Zeitschr.*, 1882, p. 190) on the Turin tablet published by Professor Piehl, means 'King of the gods,' and that Ptahhotep in the Prisse papyrus (IV, i) addresses not Osiris, but King Assa as 'my Lord the King.' Goodwin had already asserted this meaning in his "*Story of Saneha*," and in the *Zeitschr.*, 1874, p. 38.

* On the other hand in the standard of Dendera, the Crocodile is Sut, and the Feather upon his head is Osiris.

The orthography of the crocodile name here played upon is remarkably vague,  ,  , and  *rapax*, Louvre, C, 26). It is this last form which enables us to see the paranomasia in  , *rapax sicut Raptor* (*crocodilus*) of the Prisse papyrus (VII, 6), and brings the word into connection with *âta*, or *âti*, 'he who is seized' of the Sovereignty (see *supra*, Ch. 40, note 10).

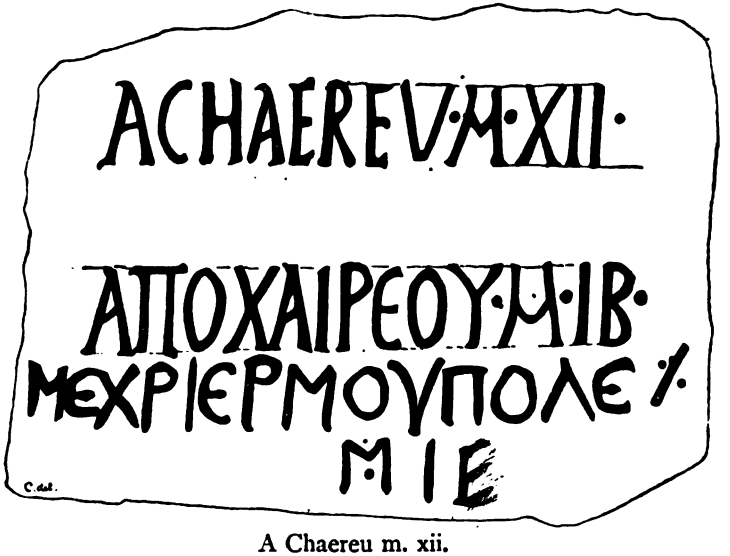
2c. *Chemiu*, , 'one who overthrows.' His appearance is made at *Kauu*,  , the Canobic entrance to the Nile, which the Libyan invaders had taken possession of in the time of Rameses III (Great *Harris Pap.*, 77, 2).

The *transgression* here disavowed is understood by some of the scribes as a violation of ritual precepts, such as those regarding sacred seasons.

CHAEREU TO HERMOPOLIS ON A BILINGUAL MILESTONE.

BY F. L. GRIFFITH.

By the kindness of Mr. H. J. Moule, Honorary Curator of the Dorset County Museum, I am enabled to publish an interesting tablet which I noticed on a recent visit to Dorchester, and which the Rev. H. C. Reichardt had deposited there, temporarily, with other objects collected during his labours as a missionary in Turkey, Syria, and Egypt. It is a thin slab of limestone, 16 inches wide and 12 inches high, purchased in Alexandria about 1880, and said at the time to have been found in that neighbourhood. The inscription enables us to fix very closely the locality to which it belonged.



A Chaereu m. xii.
ἀπὸ Χαιρέου μ ιβ
*μεχρὶ ἑρμουπόλεως**
μ. ιβ

The last sign alone is injured, but is quite legible. The characters are of about the IVth century A.D., not unlike those on the Ero-Clusma milestone of Maximian and Severus from Tell el Maskhûteh. The first and second lines give in Latin and Greek respectively a distance of 12 miles from Chaereu; these two lines are well spaced and were ruled for the engraver. The rest of the

* The mark of abbreviation is very uncommon.

inscription is a nearly contemporary addition (the first line being cramped and abbreviated); it gives, in Greek only, a similar distance of 12 miles from Hermopolis. We have, therefore, before us the milestone that marked the half distance between Hermopolis and Chaereu. The former is of course Hermopolis Parva in the Delta, the site of which is well known to be that of Damanhûr. Chaereu, likewise, is known from the Antonine Itinerary to be xx or xxiv miles from Hermopolis, and to have been the last station on the way to Alexandria. It is satisfactory to have epigraphic evidence for the distance and for the spelling of the name. According to PROCOPIUS (lib. vi, *de Aedificiis*): "The river Nile does not quite reach Alexandria, but after running to a village called Χαιρέου, it goes on the left (*i.e.* east, looking up the river), leaving the confines of the Alexandrias." It is thus evident that Chaereu was the nearest point to Alexandria on the river, that is to say it was the station at which the canal to Alexandria branched off from the Canopic arm of the Nile. Chaereu is therefore to be identified with Strabo's Schedia, "The Bridges," where the tolls were taken on vessels going up or down the river. Chaereu is also mentioned in Coptic texts (see AMÉLINEAU, *Géographie*, s.v. "Kerioun"), and is identified in the *Scalae* with الكريون. Between Nishweh and Keryûn (pronounced now I think القريون, though always written with ك) there are extensive mounds deeply covered with Roman remains. I do not know of any Egyptian name which might answer to Chaereu: probably the eponymous Χαιρέας was an Alexandrian.

To judge by the 1882 map of the War Department, the direct distance between the Nishweh-Keryûn mound and that of Damanhûr is about 18 English miles (= 19½ Roman miles). This is the measurement of xx to be read by preference in the Itinerary. The faulty (?) reading of XXIIII agrees with the inscription, which no doubt reckoned in the windings of the river; on the other hand the final β has been considerably injured, as if travellers or boatmen had found the measurement of 12 miles to Hermopolis excessive, and had hacked at the offending letter, it being the only damaged sign upon the stone.

Thus the milestone only confirms the general conclusion as to the site of Chaereu.

I have to thank Mr. Reichardt for permission to publish his tablet, and Mr. Moule for an excellent rubbing of it.

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE XXIST DYNASTY.

BY W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, D.C.L., ETC.

The following sketch of the information at present at our command, and the results which may be gathered, is based on the careful study of the period in question by Professor Maspero in his "Momies Royales de Déir el Bahari," 1889. No departure is here made from his conclusions and treatment of the material, except where circumstances have to be considered which he has not taken into account.

The two limiting dates which absolutely bound the XX—XXIst dynasties, are two of the Sothis festivals; first of the twenty-ninth Thoth, in the second year of Merenptah;* second, a feast in the twenty-second year of Usarken II. The first gives an absolute date of 1206 B.C. within two or three years either way. This contradicts the Sirius rising of 1 Paophi falling in the reign of Ramessu VI, as shown in his tomb;† but it is far more likely that the artist took for his decorations of the tomb an older star diagram which had been compiled in Merenptah's reign, rather than Merenptah should have put up a wrong date for his Sirius festival on a public monument. On testing which of these data is correct, by dead reckoning of reigns from other fixed points, there can be no question but that 1206 B.C. for the second year of Merenptah agrees with the other material far better than the star diagram does.

The other limit given by a Sirius festival under Usarken II, in his twenty-second year, has no month and day to it; but we know that it must have been a multiple of thirty years after the previous festival in 1206, or perhaps on the first of a month rather than the close of a month like that of Merenptah. Hence it should fall

* Brugsch, "Reiseberichte," 299. Date in "Denk.," III, 199 c.
† *A. Zeits.*, XXXII, 99.

about 899 B.C., or thirty years before or after that. This would, by the lengths of reigns, set the accession of Sheshenk I to 960 B.C.; as all the generally received chronologies would preclude our dating it thirty years earlier or later, at 990 B.C., or 930 B.C. These results may easily be a few years uncertain either way, owing to various minor causes, but it is very unlikely that they are ten years in error; and they at least show what range of time we have to deal with.

Taking then the lengths of reigns which are guaranteed by the monuments, or stated by Manetho, it seems that we cannot be far out in timing the Ramessides as follows:—

1207	Merenptah	1187	B.C.
1187	Sety II	1180	„
1180	Amen-meses	1175	„
1175	Sa-ptah	1168	„
1168	Set-nekht	1167	„
1167	Ramessu III	1135	„
1135	„ IV	1129	„
1129	„ V	1125	„
1125	„ VI	1123	„
1123	„ VII	1121	„
1121	„ VIII	1120	„
1120	„ IX	1113	„
1113	„ X	1094	„
1094	„ XI	1087	„
1087	„ XII	1060	„

The uncertain points in this list are (1) the length of Sety II's reign, only two years being stated on monuments: here seven has been allowed as likely, leaving of course a doubt of a few years either way. (2) Ramessu VII and VIII, of whom but very little is known, are allowed four years. The data for the other reigns of the XXth dynasty will be found stated by Maspero. Such a chronology will at least show what length of time is available for the XXIst dynasty within general limits, and 1060 B.C. for the close of the XXth to 960 B.C. for the rise of the XXIInd dynasty, may be adopted without great uncertainty.

On looking at Manetho's list of the Tanite dynasty, the first point is that some corruption has come in, either to the total or to some item. The question is, whether twenty years has dropped

from a reign, or been added to the total. Another question is, what reign corresponds to one of the most active Tanite kings, Sa·amen? As we shall see below, it is certain that he cannot be Smendes nor Herhor; and yet there is evidence at Deir el Bahri that he reigned over sixteen years, and his rebuildings at Tanis point to a long reign. He must therefore be looked for as a long reign, and yet cannot be any of the three long reigns (Smendes, Psusennes I, or Psusennes II) which are in the dynasty. Probably, then, the twenty years has dropped off his reign. Which of the reigns is his, Neferkheres, Osokhor or Psinakhes—none of which are yet identified—we may probably venture by an emendation of Neterkheres, or Neter·khe-per·ra (Neter·khar·riya) Sa·amen, for Neferkheres; and then restore the lost twenty years by placing his reign at twenty-four instead of four years. This is but an hypothesis, and one that it remains for us to test; but some such emendation is absolutely indicated, and this form is the more likely.

We therefore restore the Tanite dynasty, with approximate dates, as follows:—

1089	Smendes	Nesi·ba·neb·dad	1063 B.C.
1063	Psusennes	Pa·seb·khanu	1022 „
1022	Neterkheres	Neter·kheper·ra	998 „
998	Amenopthis	Amen·emapt	989 „
989	Osokhor		983 „
983	Psinakhes		974 „
974	Psusennes	Hor Pa·seb·khanu	960 „
960	Sheshenk I		

Thus we have reckoned back through the Tanite series of the XXIst dynasty, from a fixed point of later date. The next process is to reckon forward the priest-kings of Thebes of the XXIst dynasty, from the end of the Ramessides. For this we have no lengths of reigns nor personal data, and are confined to merely genealogic probabilities.

There seems no reason to question in any way Maspero's arrangement of the family genealogy. Herhor was contemporary with Ramessu XI and XII; as this is a space of thirty years we cannot allow that he reigned for long after Ramessu XII. As he must have been of mature age—for his grandson succeeded him in the priesthood—we may safely assign him about thirty years on accession, and between sixty to seventy at his death. Thus we may

place his birth about 1120 B.C. Allowing an average of twenty years to a generation, including the female links (which go two to one male generation at Men·kheper·ra and Pai·nezem II) the succession of births would be approximately as follows:—

B.C.	
1120	Herhor
1100	Pai·ankh
1080	Pai·nezem I
1060	Masa hart
1040	Ist·emkheb; m. 1020? Men·kheper·ra
1020	Pai·nezem II
1000	Nesi·khonsu; m. Pai·nezem II
980	Nesi·ta·neb·ashru

This of course shows nothing about the lengths of priesthoods, or the ages, but merely indicates about what period we may expect to find a priest contemporary with a Tanite king.

For fitting these two series—priests and kings—together, we must use the dates of the Tanite kings recorded by various priests; unfortunately stated merely as years, without naming the king. These dates have all been collected and discussed by Maspero in his volume on the "Momies."

The first thing to notice in these mummy endorsements is that certain officials frequently recur, as shown below, with page references to Maspero's "Momies."

P. 573. Year 16.

Burial of Pai·nezem by ... { Zed·khonsu·auf·ankh, treasurer. / Nesi·su·pa·ka·shutiu, scribe. / Un·nefer.

P. 551. Year 16 of Sa·amen.

Removal of Ramessu I by ... { Ankh·fen·amen. / Nesi·pa·ka·shuti, scribe.

P. 553. Year 16 of Sa·amen.

Removal of Sety I by ... { Ankh·fen·amen. / Nesi·pa·ka·shuti, scribe.

P. 558. Year 16 of Sa·amen.

Removal of Ramessu III by { Ankh·fen·amen. / Nesi·pa·ka·shuti, scribe.

P. 520. Year 5.

Burial of Nesi·khonsu by ... { Zed·khonsu·auf·ankh, treasurer. / Ankh·fen·amen, prophet. / Nesi·su·pa·ka·shutiu, divine father.

P. 559. Year 10.

Removal of Ramessu II by { Zed·khonsu·auf·ankh, treasurer. / Aufen·amen, son of Nesi·su·pa·shutiu / Un·nefer.

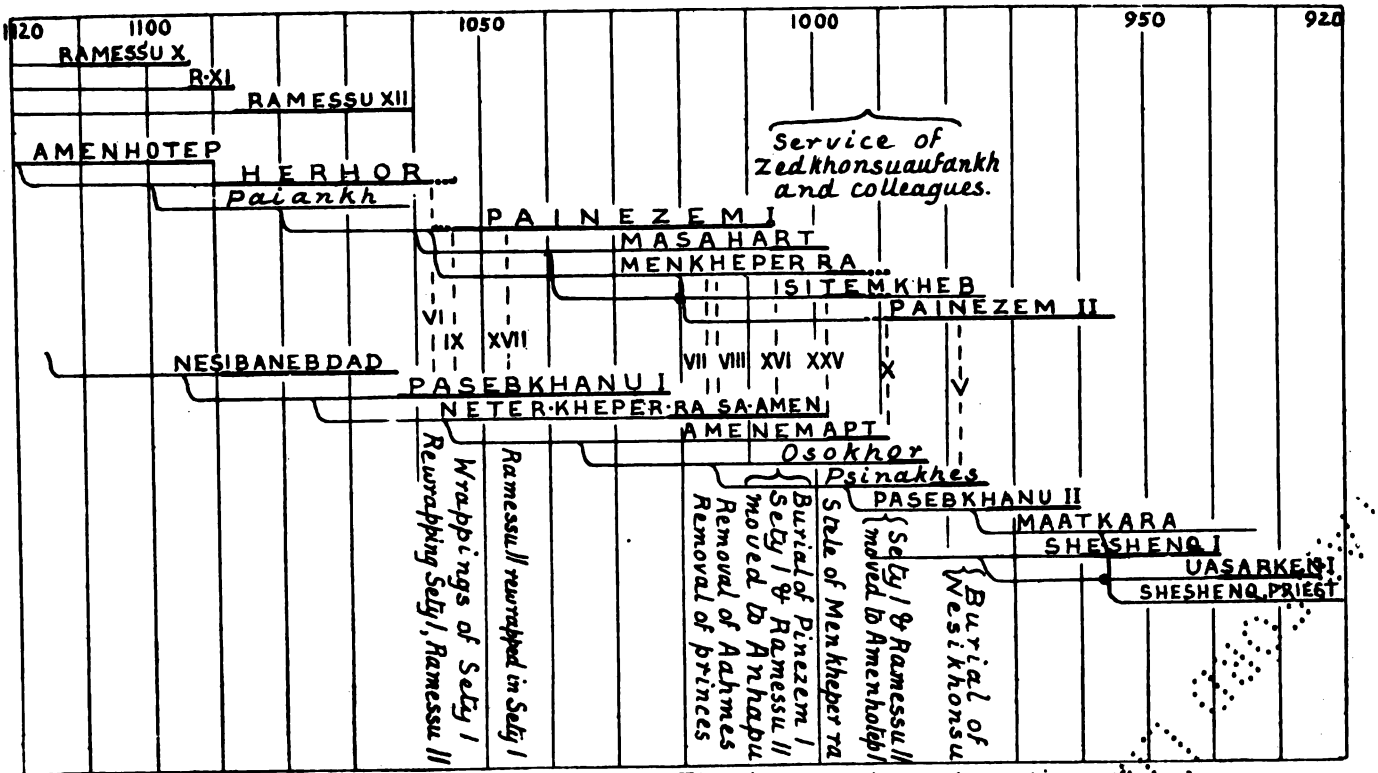
Though one name might be repeated in the same office in a succeeding generation, it would be quite unlikely that a group of two or three names should recur together in the same offices at very different epochs. We must in reason therefore place all these endorsements within about twenty or thirty years; and these include the burial of a Pai·nezem, which must by this group be Pai·nezem I, say about 1000 B.C., the burial of Nesi·khonsu not before 975 B.C., and the sixteenth year of Sa·amen which would be 1006 B.C. as already stated. We see from this how utterly impossible it is for Sa·amen to be the same as Herhor, whose sixteenth year would be about 1075 B.C., or a hundred years before the same officials appear as in the Nesi·khonsu endorsement. Setting aside all dating, and looking only at generations, it is obviously impossible for the same officials to act six generations apart, viz., under Herhor, Pai·ankh, Pai·nezem I, Masa·hart, Isit·emkheb, Nesi·ba·neb·dad, and Nesi·khonsu. Moreover the officials under Herhor are entirely different in name to these: see p. 553.*

Sa·amen being therefore certainly not Herhor, he is evidently the Sa·amen Neter-kheper·ra of Tanis, for the sixteenth year of the Tanite agrees well with the other dates of these officials, as approximately indicated by the priestly family. For clearness we will here anticipate, and show the results in a tabular form, and then proceed to the details.

In fixing the contemporaneousness of the two series, of Tanis and of Thebes, the high regnal numbers are of most value. Men·kheper·ra took up the priesthood amid great rejoicing at Thebes on his accession in a twenty-fifth year.† The only reigns in which this

* A totally different proof can also be given, thus: under Pai·nezem I, Ramessu II's mummy was in the tomb of Sety I, and under Sa·amen it was removed from the tomb of Sety I with two others. Sa·amen therefore came after Pai·nezem, the grandson of Herhor.

† Stela. Brugsch, "History," II, 194.


1120
1100
1050
1000
950
920
RAMESSU X
R·XI
RAMESSU XII
AMENHOTEP
HERHOR
paiankh
Service of Zedkhonsuaufankh and colleagues.
PAINEZEM I
MASAHART
MENKHEPERRA
ISITEMKHEB
PAINEZEM II
NESIBANEBDAD
PASEBKHANU I
NETER·KHEPER·RA SA·AMEN
AMENEMAPT
Osokhor
Psinakhes
PASEBKHANU II
MAATKARA
SHESHENQ I
UASARKEN I
SHESHENQ PRIEST
V
IX
XVII
VII
VIII
XVI
XXV
X
Rewrapping Setty I, Ramessu II
Wrappings of Setty I
Ramessu II rewrapped in Setty I
Removal of princes
Removal of Aahmes
Setty I & Ramessu II moved to Anhapu
Burial of Pinezem I
Stele of Menkheperra
Setty I & Ramessu II moved to Amenhotep I
Burial of Nesikhonsu
Thin lines shew duration of life
Thick lines shew duration of reign.

would be possible are the first three of the Tanites; and as this must by the generations be late in the series, this will be the twenty-fifth year of the twenty-four years and some months of the reign of Sa·amen. In short, Men·kheper·ra could not take up his position until Sa·amen's death. Next we see that Pai·nezem I died in a sixteenth year, and as only an unimportant priesthood of Masahart comes between this and Men·kheper·ra, it is clearly the sixteenth year of Sa·amen. Since there are no monuments or endorsements of Masa·hart, it appears that Sa·amen took over the control of Thebes himself on the death of Pai·nezem I (endorsements being dated with Sa·amen's name), and that he held the power till his death, or last illness, when Thebes reverted with joy to the priest-rule re-established by Men·kheper·ra.

Another high date is the tenth year removals of the mummies of Sety I and Ramessu II, by the same officials as acted under Sa·amen. This cannot be the tenth year of Sa·amen, as in the sixteenth year Sety I still lay in his own tomb (Masp., p. 553), and in this tenth year he was moved to the tomb of Amenhotep. This must therefore be the tenth year of the nine years and some months of the reign of Amen·em·apt.

In both of these cases of the twenty-fifth year of Sa·amen and tenth of Amen·em·apt, we have to resort to the fraction of the last regnal year, which must be under six months, or it would be reckoned as a year more in Manetho. As the months and days are stated, this enables us to test this matter still more closely. This results in finding that we are limited in uncertainty to the mere fringe of weeks needed for the news of events to pass from Tanis to Thebes. Painezem's burial took place on Pharmuthi twentieth; Sa·amen's death must have been in Paophi, and Amen·em·apt's death in Pharmuthi. The requirements of dates to allow of such dating of documents as is found, fall within very close limits, but yet there is no contradiction. The fifth year in which Nesi·khonsu died cannot be the fifth of any one before Psinakhes, as she was born about 1000 B.C. If we drive the generations further back, we have unlikely longevity for the priests, the ages postulated at present being from fifty to seventy-five, and if we thus date her birth at about 1000 B.C., we cannot put her death earlier than 978 B.C., as she had four children. This would be the fifth year of Psinakhes, and we can hardly drive it on to the fifth of Pa·seb·khanu II, as that would require Zed·khonsu·auf·ankh to have acted from 1006

to 969 B.C., or thirty-seven years in the same office with his colleagues. By taking the fifth of Psinakhes, the range of those officials is from 1006 to 978 B.C., or twenty-eight years, which is as long as it is at all likely.

We close therefore the evidence given by these official names, which has secured the beginning of Men·kheper·ra to the death of Sa·amen, so making him co-equal with Amen·em·apt; and we have another point, that Men·kheper·ra reigns till a sixth year (p. 555), which must be that of Amen·em·apt, as Painezem II was contemporary with that Tanite (p. 728). The death of Men·kheper·ra and succession of Painezem II must then have been between the sixth and tenth, or last, year of Amen·em·apt.

Pai·nezem II was succeeded by Auput, son of Sheshenk I. This would be unlikely before Sheshenk had taken the kingdom; and yet Sheshenk's dates of endorsements begin in year 5. So Pai·nezem II must have died between the first and fifth year of Sheshenk. Probably the fifth year was the time, as in that, and the sixth year, we find the rights of the remainder of the priestly family elaborately guarded, as by a treaty or compact, in the inscriptions on the pylon of Horemheb (p. 705). That these dates refer to the reign of Sheshenk is shown by Pai·nezem II being already dead (*ma·kheru*), and Au-put therefore in office.

Turning now to the beginning of the dynasty, we find Herhor dating endorsements in a sixth year; this is not likely to be the sixth of Ramessu XII, as the Theban king's name would probably have been given. This ignoring of the royal name in endorsements indicates the half-independence under a distant dynasty. As Pa·seb·khanu I begins in 1063 B.C., his sixth year is 1057 B.C., and by that time Herhor must have succeeded Ramessu XII. Next we see in an eighth year Pai·nezem has royal titles (p. 534), while in a ninth and tenth years he has not (pp. 555, 564). Probably therefore the ninth and tenth years belong to Pa·seb·khanu I, and the eighth year to his successor Sa·amen, when Pai·nezem had become more independent. This would then limit the death of Herhor, and accession of Pai·nezem I, between the sixth and ninth years of Pa·seb·khanu I. Thus the priesthoods of Thebes are limited by these data to the following years, accepting as a basis the approximate dates of the Tanite kings as stated before.

B.C.		B.C.
About 1090	Herhor	1057–4
1057–4	Pai·nezem I	1006
1006	Masa·hart	998
998	Men·kheper·ra	992–989
992–989	Pai·nezem II	955

This long reign of Pai·nezem I agrees well to the fact of his coming early into office in succession to his grandfather. The dates we thus reach agree reasonably with the presumptive birth dates which we noticed before. The ages at accession and death coming out as follow:—Herhor, 30—65; Pai·nezem I, 25—74; Masa·hart, 54—62; Men·kheper·ra, 52—60; Pai·nezem II, 30—65. These are all reasonable ages, and show that the starting-point cannot be put far different, nor the scale of the generations much changed. Above all, this result of bringing the dating of the Ramessides down from Merenptah's festival to meet the dating of the Tanites carried up from Usarken's festival, proves to be quite successful (the absolute contact being fixed by Amen·em·apt and Pai·nezem II); and this must give considerable confidence in a chronology which works out so consistently when tested in details.

We will lastly look at the general history of the XXIst dynasty as thus set out. The series of the Ramessides, from IV to XII, follows—with but two additions—the order of the sons of Ramessu III. The only exceptions are Ramessu V, probably a son of Ramessu IV; and Ramessu IX, probably a son of the VIIIth. All the others, IV, VI, VII, VIII, Meritum, X, XI and XII, stand with the same personal names and order of succession as the recorded sons of Ramessu III. Such a coincidence of succession would be very unlikely, and down to Ramessu VIII the identity of the princes and kings is already well recognized. This descent of Ramessu XII as a son of Ramessu III is not at all improbable in its dates: if this last Ramesside were born even five years before his father's death he would be not more than eighty at his own death.

But what can be the cause of such a strange—such a unique—succession of brothers? It cannot have been that they all killed their predecessors, for if so they would have been equally likely to kill off their presumptive successors. It can hardly have been that they had no sons. The only apparent cause is in the power of the priests of Amen, and it seems as if the high-priest had attained such

power in Thebes that he could depose one king and set up another at pleasure. It would be his policy to rule through a long series of old men, taking always the eldest of the long family, and then putting forward another when a change was needed. The longest reign of all was the last of the brothers, when there was no further any need to shift, and when power was entirely in the priestly hands.

During the time of Herhor, Smendes (Nesi·ba·neb·dad) either raided the south, or perhaps had a peaceful mission there for stone, as his name is found in the quarry opposite Gebelen. Pai·nezem I, however, firmly established his power, and called himself king in the latter part of his reign. On his death the active king of Tanis—Sa·amen—controlled Thebes and held Masa·hart in check, so that he did little or nothing to assert himself. So soon as Sa·amen became mortally ill Men·kheper·ra came forward and re-established the Theban power. Pai·nezem II succeeded him; and dying soon after the new ruler Sheshenk had established his dynasty, a prince of the new line was sent up to appropriate the priesthood and so bring that authority into subjection. A formal treaty assured the priestly princesses of the security of their rights, and thus the transfer of power was rendered more acceptable to the Thebans.

The essence of this re-arrangement, which is here outlined, lies in the evidence of the names of officials linking together three different epochs of dates, and thus proving Sa·amen to be long posterior to Herhor. While the only conjectural emendation is in identifying Sa·amen Neter·kheper·ra—or Neterkhurriya as the cuneiform transliterations would indicate the pronunciation to have been —with Nefer·kheres, and restoring to this reign the lost twenty years shown by the total of the dynasty. Such an emendation is called for by the facts of the case, the greatness of Neter·khurriya at Tanis, Sa·amen's sixteen years at Deir el Bahri, and the evident omission in the list of reigns. The other results naturally follow on this basis, and stand or fall along with it. At least we have now a working hypothesis which fits every known fact of the period, and which can now be confirmed or overthrown by any new facts of importance that may be found.

(*GU*), THE ELEVENTH CONSTELLATION OF THE ZODIAC.

BY THE HON. MISS PLUNKET.

In the astronomical tablets (of the 1st and 2nd century B.C.) translated by Epping and Strassmaier, the twelve constellations of the Babylonian Zodiac are constantly referred to. Their names appear under very abbreviated forms in the tablets, and are as follows :—*

1.	(*ku*(*sarikku*))	= aries.
2.	(*te*(*mennu*))	= taurus.
3.	(*mašu*)	= gemini.
4.	(*pulukku*)	= cancer.
5.	(*arû*)	= leo.
6.	(*serû*)	= virgo.
7.	(*zibanîlu*)	= libra.
8.	(*aqrabu*)	= scorpio.
9.	(*pa*)	= arcitenens.
10.	(*enzu*)	= caper.
11.	(*gu*)	= amphora [aquarius].
12.	(*zib*)	= pisces.

Also in Epping and Strassmaier's work "Astronomisches aus Babylon," under the heading "Die Zeichen des Thierkreises," pp. 170, 171, and "Die Namen der Sterne," pp. 174, 175, the twelve abbreviations met with in the tablets are discussed at some length.

From a study of the list here given and of the passages referred to, we learn that it has been found possible to suggest, for some of

* *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, v Band, 4 Heft, October, 1890, p. 351.

the abbreviations, suitable terminations, and in the completed words thus obtained, the familiar constellations of the zodiac as we know them are easily to be recognised.

As regards other of the abbreviations, and amongst them that of (*gu*) for the eleventh sign (amphora or aquarius), no termination has been suggested; and of it Strassmaier thus writes,* p. 171: "— gu ist sonst fast ausschliesslich nur als Silbenzeichen gu bekannt;" and Jensen, discussing Epping and Strassmaier's constellation list, writes thus of the abbreviation "*gu*" for the eleventh constellation:† "Ob Gu einen Wassereimer, Schöpfeimer, bezeichnen kann weiss ich nicht. Die bisher veröffentlichen Texte geben keinen Aufschluss darüber."

As a probable completion for the abbreviation "gu," the following suggestion is here put forward:—

In the ancient astrological tablets translated by Professor Sayce in his paper on the astronomy and astrology of the Babylonians,‡ pp. 189, 190, "the star of Gula" is mentioned, and the cuneiform syllables for Gu-la are thus printed ."

The cuneiform syllable (*gu*) in the Epping and Strassmaier tablets bears, as may be seen, a very close resemblance to the first syllable of the name Gula as given in Professor Sayce's paper. It is indeed the same cuneiform group in each instance differently represented in modern type.

But this fact if it stood alone would not be enough to do more than point to a possible identification of "Gu" in the late tablets with Gula in the ancient astrological works. Amongst the many constellations in the heavens the name of more than one might have begun with the syllable "Gu."

We find however at a later page (206) of Professor Sayce's paper, this sentence translated from W.A.I. III, 57, 1:—

"Jupiter in the star of Gula lingers." None of the five planets known to the Babylonians could ever with truth have been described as appearing or "lingering" in any part of the heavens outside the band of the zodiac stars: "the star (or constellation) Gula" we must therefore assume was a zodiacal star or constellation. This restriction of the position of the "star Gula" renders it scarcely a rash conclusion to arrive at, that the *zodiacal* "gu" of the later

* *Astronomisches aus Babylon.*

† *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 314.

‡ *Transactions, Biblical Archæology*, Vol. III, February, 1894.

tablets is an abbreviation for the *zodiacal* "Gula" of the ancient astrological works.

As to a mythological reason for the choice of the goddess Gula to preside over the constellation known to us as "Aquarius," we find it in the fact that "Gula" appears as another name for the goddess Bau* and Bau (or Bahu) was a personification of *the dark water* or chaos.

If we adopt this identification of the star or constellation Gula with the constellation or some star in the constellation Aquarius, it will throw light on many of the inscriptions found on statues and other monuments at Telloh (the modern name of the mound which covers the ruins of the ancient city of Lagash).

We find from these inscriptions that the deities especially worshipped at Lagash were not the same as those who held the foremost places contemporaneously in the Accadian, and at a later time in the Babylonian pantheon. Nin-girsu and "his beloved consort," the goddess Bau, received in Lagash the highest honours. On one of the statues of Gudea, "the priestly governor of Lagash," this inscription occurs :—†

"To Nin-girsu, the powerful warrior, of Ellillu [this is dedicated] "by Gudea, priestly governor of Lagash, who has constructed the "temple of Einunu, consecrated to Nin-girsu.

"For Nin-girsu, his lord, he has built the temple of Ekhud, the "tower in stages, from the summit of which Nin-girsu grants him a "happy lot.

"Besides the offerings which Gudea made of his free will to "Nin-girsu and to the goddess Bau, daughter of Annu, his "beloved consort, he has made others to his god Nin-giszida.

"That year he had a block of rare stone brought from the "country of Magan ; he had it carved into a statue of himself.

"On the day of the beginning of the year, the day of the "festival of Bau, on which offerings were made : one calf, one fat "sheep, two rams, seven *pat* of dates, seven *sab* of cream, seven "palm buds.

"Such were the offerings made to the goddess Bau in the "ancient temple on that day."

Nin-girsu, the god—so highly exalted in this and in other inscriptions found in the mounds of Telloh—has been identified

* Maspero, *Egypt and Chaldea*, p. 672, notes 1, 2.

† Evetts, *New Light on the Bible*, p. 162.

with the god Ninib* of the Babylonians. Much difference of opinion prevails as to what astronomical ideas were connected by the ancient inhabitants of Mesopotomia with the god Ninib.

Jensen admits that the generally received opinion as to Ninib is that he represents the "southern sun."† He, however, contends, with great eagerness that this is a mistaken opinion, and that Ninib is really the eastern or rising sun. Many of Jensen's arguments against the possibility of Ninib representing the southern sun are based on the assumption that the epithet "southern," applied to the sun, denotes the power of the mid-day sun; whereas in other descriptious of Ninib he appears as struggling with, though in the end triumphant over, storm, and cloud, and darkness.

But "southern sun," instead of the "alles verzehrenden und versengenden Sud-oder Mittags Sonne," may more fitly in an astronomical sense mean the struggling and finally triumphant sun of the winter solstice. And if we so understand the expression, the apparently contradictory references to Ninib are easily explained.

At mid-winter the sun rises and sets more to the south than at any other time of the year; at noon on the day of the winter solstice the sun is forty-seven degrees nearer to the south pole of the heavens than it is at the summer solstice.

If instead of adopting Jensen's contention, and looking upon Ninib as the eastern rising sun, we revert to the generally held opinion that Ninib was the god of the southern sun, and if we understand the southern sun in its astronomical sense as the winter, or more strictly speaking the mid-winter sun, it will naturally lead us to the conclusion that "the day of the beginning ot the year," the day of the festival of Bau Ningirsu's (= Ninib's) "beloved consort," was held at the time of the winter solstice.

Speaking in round numbers, from 4000–2000 B.C. the winter solstice took place when the sun was in conjunction with the constellation Aquarius, which constellation, or some one of its stars, was, as we have suggested, called by the astronomers of Babylonia "Gula," Gula being another name for Bau.

It is not therefore surprising to find that those rulers of Lagash whose dates fell between 4000 and 2000 B.C. should have so often associated together Ningirsu and Bau; and further, that Gudea, whose rule is placed at about 2900 B.C., should on "the day of the

* Maspero, *Egypt and Chaldea*, pp. 637, 645.

† Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 460.

beginning of the year" have kept high festival in honour of Bau, as the beneficent deity presiding in conjunction with Ningirsu over the revolving years.

The precession of the equinoxes must necessarily in the course of ages introduce confusion into all zodiacal calendars and into all ritual and mythological symbolism founded on such calendars. From 2000 B.C. down to the beginning of our era, the winter solstice took place when the sun was in conjunction with Capricornus, not with Aquarius. In those later days, if the inhabitants of Lagash still celebrated their new year's festival at the winter solstice, Bau (= *Gula* = *Aquarius*) could only have laid a traditional claim to preside over it.

In accordance with these astronomical facts, we learn from the teachings of the tablets that the especial reverence paid to Bau = *Gula*, in the Lagash inscriptions was not extended to her in later times.

As to Ninib, we know that even at Gudea's date in the neighbouring state of Accad, and in later times in Babylon, he did not hold the pre-eminent position accorded to him by the early rulers of Lagash.

This difference in the religious observances of Accad and Lagash regarding Ninib—the god of the winter solstice—as we here suppose him to be, may also receive an astronomical explanation.

According to the evidence of "The Standard Astrological Work," the compilation of which is generally attributed to the date 3800 B.C., and according to the evidence of many other tablets, the year in Accad and afterwards in Babylon began not at the winter solstice, but on the 1st day of Nisan, and Nisan (Acc. *Bar Zig-gar*), the month of "the right making sacrifice," was, as its name suggests, the month during which the sun was in conjunction with the constellation Aries.*

At Gudea's date, about 3000 B.C., the 1st of Nisan, if it was dependant on the sun's entry into Aries, must have fallen about mid-way between the winter solstice and the spring equinox, and as

* Some scholars hold that the year in Babylon, and in Accad, was always counted from the spring equinox, not from the entry of the sun into the constellation Aries. They resort to the expedient of decrying the authority and reliability of the standard astrological work, of which so many copies were found in Assurbanipal's library.—*See* Sayce's *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 48, 397, and *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Art. *Zodiac*.

century succeeded century, the 1st of Nisan must slowly but surely have receded further from the solstice and have approached more and more to the equinoctial point.

In Accad therefore, neither at Gudea's nor at any later date, did the year begin at the winter solstice, and hence we can understand why in that state, and afterwards in Babylon, Ninib was not as highly honoured as in Lagash, and why he and his consort Bau (= *Gula*) were not referred to as the deities presiding over the beginning of the year.

In a former number of these *Proceedings** we drew attention to the Accadian calendar. We there suggested that the choice of the first degree of Aries as initial point of the zodiac was originally made when the winter solstice coincided with the sun's entry into that constellation, *i.e.*, about 6000 B.C.

If that suggestion, and our present one concerning the new year's festival in Lagash are accepted, it will be easy to imagine that the Lagash observance betokened a sort of effort at reform of the sidereal calendar in use in Accad, and it may be elsewhere.

In Accad the calendar makers clung to the originally instituted *star mark* for the year, and made it begin with the sun's entry into Aries, therefore by degrees the beginning of their year moved away from the winter solstice, and in the first century B.C. coincided very closely with the spring equinox.

In Lagash, on the contrary, the calendar makers clung to the originally established *season* of the year, and made it begin at the winter solstice, therefore by degrees the beginning of their year moved away from the constellation Aries, and in Gudea's time the new year's festival was held in honour of the goddess Bau = Gula = Aquarius.

* January, 1892.

A-MUR-RI OU *A-ḪAR-RI?*

PAR A. J. DELATTRE, S.J.

Dans une étude sur quelques lettres de Tell el-Amarna, publiée dans les *Proceedings*, en mars 1891, nous avons écrit les lignes suivantes :

"La principauté ou gouvernement d'Azirou est désigné sous le nom d'A-mu-ri, A-mu-ur-ra, A-mur-ri ; plus d'une fois Azirou semble désigner aussi son district par le nom de pays de Mar-tu. Tous les assyriologues savent que Martu est l'équivalent d'un autre nom qu'on a toujours lu, A-ḫar-ri, mais qu'on pourrait aussi bien lire en lui-même A-mur-ri, et qui est exprimé par les mêmes signes que notre A-mur-ri. On s'est décidé pour la lecture *A-ḫar-ri*, en se basant uniquement sur une étymologie présumée, car je ne pense pas qu'il existe une seul variante *A-ḫa-ar-ri*, qui justifie la lecture devenue classique. Je sais bien que l'*A-mur-ri*, ou A-mu-ri, de nos textes représente un district phénicien, et non toute la Phénicie comme l'*A-ḫar-ri* des Assyriens (c'est-à-dire, des assyriologues). Mais il y a une exception remarquable à cet usage dans la grande inscription d'Assournazirpal. Celui-ci raconte qu'arrivé au bord de la Méditerranée, il reçut le tribut des pays de "Tyr, Sidon, Gebal, Makhallata, Maïza, Kaïza, *A-ḫar-ra-a*, Aradus." Ici, *A-ḫar-ra-a*, représente évidemment un canton particulier (voir notre travail, *L'Asie occidentale dans les inscriptions assyriennes*, 1885, p. 76) ; n'est-ce pas celui dont Azirou avait été le chef, et ne faut-il pas lire *A-mur-ra-a ?*"

J'ai appris par M. Eb. Schrader (*Das Westland un das Land Amurri*, dans les *Sitzungsberichte* de l'académie Berlin, 1894, p. 1301) que M. Sayce avait défendu la même idée dans l'*Academy*, 20 mai 1893.

Quant à M. Schrader, il approuve naturellement la lecture Amurri, justifiée par les variantes, quand il s'agit de la principauté d'Azirou. Il ne nous conteste pas cette lecture dans le passage

cité d'Assournazirpal. Mais il maintient la lecture *A-ḫar-ri*, comme nom de la Phénicie ; il nie que dans les lettres d'Azirou le pays de Martu et le pays d'Amurri soient identiques, comme le Martu et le soi-disant Aḫarri dans les inscriptions de Babylone et de Ninive. M. Schrader insiste sur ce que les mots Martu et le prétendu Aḫarri signifient l'ouest dans les mêmes inscriptions : un tel rôle ne conviendrait pas à Amurri ; le nom d'une principauté si insignifiante ne serait jamais devenu le nom d'un point cardinal.

Je crois cependant que tout doit céder devant un fait sur lequel M. Fritz Hommel a bien voulu attirer mon attention. Ce savant a observé que dans les contrats babyloniens publiés par M. Br. Meissner (*Beiträge zum Altbabylonischem Privatrecht*), un même terrain est nommé, p. 42, *ugar A-mu-ur-ri ki*, et, p. 61, *ugar Mar-tu*, c'est-à-dire, le terrain de l'ouest, d'où il s'ensuit que, dans les documents assyro-babyloniens, Amurri est bien le synonyme de Martu, même comme expression du point cardinal. L'équivalence des deux termes dans les lettres de Tell el-Amarna devient ainsi évidente car la lecture *A-ḫar-ri*, comme synonyme de Martu, n'a jamais eu d'autre soutien qu'un rapprochement avec *âḥôr*, le nom de l'ouest en hébreu, et ce soutien lui échappe manifestement. Azirou était donc le chef du pays d'Amurri, autrement dit Martu. Mais comment expliquer l'usage d'Amurri et de Martu pour signifier l'ouest, à Ninive et à Babylone ? Il y a réponse à la question.

Le district d'Amurri confinait à la Méditerranée au nord de la ville de Simyra et du fleuve Eleuthéros, actuellement le Nahr el-Kebir. En effet, les vaisseaux abordaient au pays d'Amurri (*The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, 13, lignes 12–14 ; 44, lignes 32–36). Dans le texte cité d'Assournazirpal, l'énumération procède du sud au nord : Tyr, Sidon, Gebal, ou Byblos. . . . . Amurra (nous ne lisons plus Aḫarra), Aradus. D'après les lettres de Tell el-Amarna, la ville de Ṣumura, Simyra, est l'éternelle pomme de discorde entre Rib-Addou, préfet de Byblos, et les chefs qui se succèdent au pays d'Amurri. On peut s'en assurer par un coup d'œil jeté sur les passages qu'indique M. Bezold à l'article Ṣumura, dans la liste des noms propres à la suite des textes du British Museum. A certain moment, Simyra est bloqué sur terre par les princes d'Amurri, et sur mer par les vaisseaux d'Aradus (*Der Thontafelfund von el-Amarna*, 51, lignes 7–13). Enfin, au nord de Simyra et au sud-est d'Aradus, nous avons vu, comme beaucoup d'autres, les vestiges d'une ancienne ville phénicienne, aujourd'hui

Amrit, jadis Marathus, et peut-être plus anciennement encore *Martu*, ce qui supposerait une forme *Marat* ou Marath-os moins la désinence grecque. Si les lettres de Tell el-Amarna, à notre connaissance, ne parlent pas d'une manière certaine de vaisseaux d'Amurri, comme elles parlent des vaisseaux d'Aradus, de Byblos, de Beyrouth, et de Sidon, c'est que, suivant une observation déjà faite, par Strabon, la côte de Marathus ne se prêtait pas au développement d'une marine, même modeste. (Voir la description géographique, très exacte, de cette côte, Strabon, XVI, II, 12, 13, et Pline l'ancien, édition Littré, V, XVII, 3, 4. *Cf.* Bädeker-Socin, *Palestine et Syrie*, 1882, p. 565–570.)

Les princes d'Amurri étaient des personnages considérables en comparaison des autres chefs du pays de Chanaan, à l'époque dont les lettres de Tell el-Amarna ont rappelé le souvenir. L'action d'Azirou se fait sentir depuis la région Homs-Baalbek jusqu'à Tyr. Néanmoins, en soi, l'Amurri était peu de chose. A la vérité, il se peut qu'au temps des plus anciens rois de Babylonie, l'Amurri ait eu plus d'importance politique. Mais la célébrité d'un peuple ne dépend pas nécessairement de sa puissance. Qu'y a-t-il, par exemple, de plus connu dans l'antiquité que Tyr avec son insignifiante banlieue? Il n'est donc pas invraisemblable que, sans avoir jamais été le centre d'un grand État, l'Amurri, ou Martu, ait assez occupé la pensée des Babyloniens pour donner son nom chez eux à un des quatre points cardinaux. Voici probablement la manière dont la chose se fit.

Les lettres de Tell el-Amarna montrent les Babyloniens et les Assyriens fréquentant le pays de Chanaan et l'Égypte. D'autre part, l'emploi de la langue assyro-babylonienne en Syrie et en Palestine, à l'époque de ces lettres, prouve, quelle que soit l'origine de cet usage, que ces relations étaient assez anciennes. Or, par le chemin naturel, les caravanes de Mésopotamie, après avoir quitté la vallée de l'Oronte, aboutissaient à la Méditerranée précisément au pays d'Amurri, toujours l'étape la plus remarquable du voyage, quand il n'en était pas le terme. Que ce fût là le chemin naturel on va le comprendre par quelque lignes de M. Élisée Reclus (*Nouvelle géographie universelle*, t. IX, p. 692), qui semblent avoir été écrites pour nous :

"Les montagnes des Ansarieh, au sud d'Antioche, dressent leur massif le plus élevé immédiatement au sud des bouches de l'Oronte : c'est le Casius ou Djebel-Akra, le 'mont Chauve'

(1769 mètres), à la cime pyramidale. . . . . En se prolongeant vers le sud, les monts des Ansarieh, composés en grande partie de roches crayeuses aux croupes faiblement ondulées, à travers lesquelles se sont fait jour quelques roches dioritiques, n'atteignent nulle part à la hauteur du Djebel-Akra : en plusieurs endroits, ils sont même inférieurs à 1000 mètres, très pénibles à franchir néanmoins, à cause des innombrables ravins qui les découpent en un vaste labyrinthe. A l'orient, l'Oronte les sépare des collines bordières du désert, et leur extrémité méridionale est limitée par le val du Nahr el-Kebir, qui naît, comme l'Oronte, sur le versant oriental du Liban ; entre les deux vallées, on n'a qu'à traverser un petit seuil de coteaux."

A la rigueur nous pouvions dire cela nous-même, puisque nous avons franchi le petit seuil de coteaux et failli mourir de faim dans le labyrinthe. Nous avons donné la parole à M. Élisée Reclus, parce qu'il décrit si bien les sites et qu'on ne le soupçonnera pas d'avoir voulu, coûte que coûte, mener les Babyloniens au pays d'Amurri, dont il n'avait naturellement aucune idée en 1884.

Dans toute la chaîne du Liban, nous voulons dire depuis la vallée de l'Éleuthéros ou Nahr el-Kebir jusqu'à la plaine d'Esdrelon, les Babyloniens eussent en vain cherché un passage aussi commode. Les Français n'avaient encore construit ni la belle route carrossable, ni le chemin de fer de Beyrouth à Damas.

A un autre point de vue, la côte de Marathus formait un point remarquable du littoral phénicien. A trois quarts d'heure de Marathus, s'élève Aradus, actuellement Rouad, un îlot de 800 mètres de long sur 500 mètres de large, avec une échancrure servant de port, du côté de la terre, à l'est. Si les vaisseaux d'Aradus, au témoignage des lettres de Tell el-Amarna (British Museum, 44, lignes 12–18), poussaient au sud jusqu'aux ports de l'Égypte, on peut bien croire qu'ils visitaient aussi, à l'ouest et au nord, Chypre, l'Asie-Mineure, les îles de la mer Égée. Pour commercer avec ces régions, Aradus était le mieux situé des ports phéniciens. C'était une raison de plus pour les caravanes de Babylonie et d'Assyrie de pénétrer au pays de Chanaan par la vallée du Nahr el-Kebir, et de visiter Marathus en face d'Aradus.

La situation respective d'Amurri et d'Aradus explique parfaitement l'alliance d'Azirou et des Aradiens. Les habitants d'Aradus, sur leur îlot stérile et sans autre eau que celle de quelques sources sous-marines, fort difficile à puiser, ne pouvaient vivre que moyennant des possessions en terre ferme ou des relations amicales avec les

riverains d'en face. Il leur fallait aussi, pour leur négoce, des points d'appui sur le continent voisin, ce que furent certainement à une époque plus récente Antaradus et Marathus. Dans tous les cas, au temps où nous sommes, il leur importait de s'entendre avec Azirou. Celui-ci d'ailleurs ne pouvait être aussi riche en vaisseaux que les Aradiens. Aussi comptait-il sur leur flotte comme nous l'avons vu. (Outre le passage cité plus haut, voir British Museum, 28, lignes 57–63, et notre traduction de cette pièce dans les *Proceedings*, juin 1893, p. 509–511.)

La situation du pays d'Amurri rend également compte de l'ardeur avec laquelle ses chefs, malgré les défenses du roi d'Égypte, s'acharnent à la conquête de Simyra. Simyra, c'était la vallée du Nahr el-Kebir, une des plus fertiles et des plus faciles à cultiver du littoral phénicien. Arad-Asrati, ou plutôt Abd-Asrati, le père d'Azirou, écrivait un jour au roi d'Égypte qu'il gardait pour son suzerain, c'est-à-dire, probablement pour l'entretien des soldats égyptiens en garnison au pays de Chanaan, les moissons de Simyra. C'était une façon fort honnête de colorer un vol commis au préjudice du voisin. (Recueil de Berlin, 97, lignes 26–29. Voir notre traduction dans les *Proceedings*, avril 1891, p. 321.)

(Note présentée pour les *Proceedings* au commencement de décembre 1895. *Cf.* Fritz Hommel, *Proceedings*, janvier 1896, p. 17, 18.)

LETTRE DE LABÂ AU ROI D'ÉGYPTE.

El Amarna No. 112 (*Winkler-Abel*).

ALFRED BOISSIER.

Cette lettre, fort intéressante au point de vue paléographique, ne l'est pas moins au point de vue philologique. Les signes de *šarru*, de *amêlu*, de *am*, de *ka* affectent des formes particulières ; ayant collationné cette lettre, je me permets d'attirer l'attention sur ce document.

Le nom du personnage semble devoir se lire Labâ, ou Labaia, d'après les textes du British Museum (v. la publication de Budge et Bezold, p. 151). Lui et ses deux fils sont souvent accusés par les gouverneurs d'avoir mal agi envers le roi d'Égypte et de s'être révoltés contre lui.

M. Halévy a donné une traduction de cette lettre dans le *Journal Asiatique*, vol. XIX (1892), p. 272 ; la mienne diffère sur plusieurs points ; quoique je sois loin d'avoir compris la lettre dans son entier, je me permets de présenter ma traduction dans l'espoir qu'elle intéressera ceux qui étudient les documents d'El Amarna :—

1. Au roi mon maître et mon soleil
2. ton serviteur Labâ
3. la poussière que tu foules (littéral. la poussière des semelles de tes pieds)
4. aux pieds du roi mon maître,
5. mon soleil sept fois et sept fois encore
6. je tombe. J'ai exécuté les ordres
7. que le roi m'a envoyés.
8. Suis-je un chien pour que
9. le roi perde son pays
10. à cause de moi. Voici je suis un serviteur loyal
11. du roi, je n'ai pas péché
12. je n'ai pas commis de faute
13. je n'ai jamais refusé (de payer) mes impôts
14. je n'ai pas davantage fait opposition

15. aux demandes de mon supérieur.
16. On me calomnie maintenant,
17. c'est la ruine, mais le roi mon maître
18. ne pensera (?) pas que c'est ma faute.
19.
20. est-ce ma faute ?
21. lors de mon entrée
22. dans la ville de Gazri
23. j'ai annoncé cela
24. chacun l'a entendu ;
25. le roi peut s'emparer
26. de ma vie et de la vie
27. de Milkili ;
28. mais connaît-il (le roi) la manière d'agir
29. de Milkili envers moi ?
30.
31. Le roi a donné un ordre à I-mu-ia,
32. mais j'ignore si
33. Imuia est parti
34. avec les brigands (?)
35.
36. et ses (?)
37. sont dans les mains d'Adda (?)
38.
39. Si le roi m'ordonne de lui envoyer ma femme (pour son harem)
40. comment la lui refuserai-je (littéralement, comment la retiendrais-je)
41. si à moi
42. le roi donne cet ordre :
43. mets un poignard de cuivre
44. sur ton cœur et
45. meurs ! comment n'exécuterais-je pas l'ordre du roi.

Le passage le plus curieux de cette lettre est sans contredit celui où le gouverneur Labâ déclare que même si le roi exige qu'il lui livre sa femme, il doit accéder au désir du roi, c'est assez montrer les exigences du souverain de l'Égypte.

Ce passage se lit ainsi en assyrien, l. 38 à 46 : *Kie šumma ana aššatiia šapar šarru, kie akalluši, kie šumma ana iaši šapar šarru šukun paṭar siparri ina libbika ù mît kie lâ ippušu šipirti šarri.*

NOTES.

Dans un prochain article nous donnerons quelques détails sur Labâ, qui joua un rôle important à cette époque.

l 18. Cette phrase est obscure, la forme verbale izanniku embarrasse. L'assyrien ne possède pas de verbes zanâku, zanâqu ; je serais tenté de voir ici le verbe sanâqu, mais je n'ose donner une explication de cette forme verbale. Il est évident que le sujet est šarru, arniia l'objet. Il y a une même tournure de phrase à la ligne 25 : iltequ šarru šalmiia, etc.

l 31. Il faut lire Imuia de préférence à Turmuia.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 3rd March, 1896, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

Theo. G. Pinches, Assyriological Gleanings.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION, 1896.

Third Meeting, 3rd March, 1896.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President.

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Author :—Notes sur les fouilles entreprises dans la haute vallée de l'Oronte pour retrouver l'emplacement de l'ancienne ville de Kadech, par M. J.-E. Gautier. Paris. 8vo. 1895.

Extraits des Comptes-Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscrip. et Belles Lettres.

From the Publisher:—C. C. B. Mohr. Freiburg and Leipzig. Jesu Muttersprache. Das Gäliläische Aramäisch in seiner Bedeutung für die Erklärung der Reden Jesu und der Evangelien überhaupt, von Lic. Arnold Meyer.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the last Meeting, held on the 4th February, 1896:—

Mrs. Freeman Gell, 27, Bramham Gardens, South Kensington.
Edward John Pilcher, 49, Charlwood Street, South Belgravia, S.W.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting on May the 5th:—

F. L. Gardener, Buxton House, Chiswick.
F. W. Gilbertson, Clanrhyd, Swansea Vale.
William Eugene Gregson, Moor Lane, Great Crosby, W. Liverpool.
William Peek, F.R.A.S., F.R.S.E., City Astronomer, Observatory House, Calton Hill, Edinburgh.
Rev. Herbert Lavallin Puxley, Catton Rectory, Stamford Bridge, York.
Rev. Lonsdale Ragg, M.A., Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon College, Wheatley, Oxon.
Rev. James Blunt Wilkinson, M.A., 5, Orme Square, Bayswater.

A Paper was read by Theo. G. Pinches, entitled "Assyriological Gleanings."

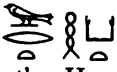
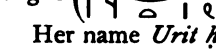
Remarks were added by Mr. W. G. Thorpe, Mr. F. Mocatta, Mr. Jos. Offord, Mr. P. R. Reed, Mr. Pinches, and the President.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

CHAPTER CXXV.

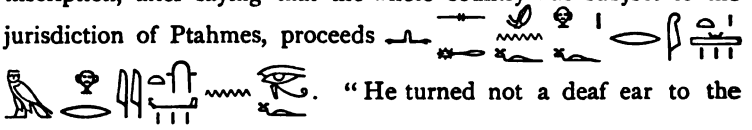
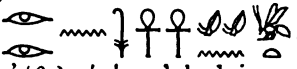
NOTES.

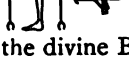
21. *Who raisest thy voice . . . . . words of Righteousness.* is an attribute assigned to Isis in the Hymn to Osiris (line 14) on the Stele of Amenemhait in the Bibliothèque Nationale; and it is there further defined through the addition of the words , 'with *clearness* of utterance' (*cf.* Ch. 1, note 2). One of the chief names of Isis is  'Mighty in Words of Power.' She is also described in the Hymn as 'Most potent of tongue  and unfailing of speech.'*

Her name *Urit ḥekait* may have suggested the name *Urit* as the place of her manifestation. But we do not know if *Urit* is to be taken as the name of a town or if some papyri are correct in reading , which may mean *tribunal.*

There were in ancient Egypt *six* great courts of justice, .

* Her son Horus inherited these gifts. He is invoked (*Metternich Stele*, line 106), .

A High Priest of Ptah of Memphis, named Ptahmes, in the early part of the eighteenth dynasty, who was President of these six Courts,* has left a very remarkable attestation relative to the 24th Precept, on a beautiful scribe's palette in basalt (Louvre, *Inv.*, 3026). The inscription, after saying that the whole country was subject to the jurisdiction of Ptahmes, proceeds  . "He turned not a deaf ear to the truth, through the terrors of his Eye;" that is, "the terrors of his Eye" were not used for the perversion of Justice. But what is meant by his "Eye"? M. Pierret (in his *Inscr. inédites du Louvre*, pt. 1, p. 96) suggested the 'Eye of Horus.' I think it has reference to the position of Ptahmes as  . He was 'the King's Eye,' ὁ βασιλέων ὀφθαλμός,† and had in consequence, an unlimited power of defeating justice had he been so inclined.

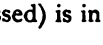
It is only by a blunder‡ that the papyrus of Ani makes  (the nineteenth Nome of Upper Egypt) the scene of the divine Babe's manifestation, which is unquestionably Heliopolis. The name of the Nome has numerous variants, but they always

* Rechmarā filled this office shortly before this, in the time of Thothmes III, and the inscriptions of his tomb give interesting information of the duties discharged. His clerks are praised for the virtue of discretion (18th Precept). Each heard the reports read by others, but without troubling himself with what did not concern him. See next note.

† This office is often referred to by Greek writers as existing in the Persian hierarchy. Pseudartabas, the 'King's Eye,' is one of the Dramatis Personæ in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes. Herodotus (1, 114) tells how Cyrus being chosen king by his playfellows, selected his principal officers, and one among the boys to be the 'King's Eye.' Aeschylus does not forget in his *Persae* (line 976) to make the Chorus bewail the loss of the King's faithful Eye.

The most ancient personage who is known to me as the 'King's Eye' in Egypt is Antuf, whose tablet (of the 12th dynasty) is in the Louvre (C. 25). His duties are detailed on this magnificent tablet, and they are very similar to those of Rechmarā. He is described not only as the King's Eyes which see, but the "Tongue which speaks, of the lord of the Palace."

‡ in cursive writing might be mistaken for or for , and the scribe, to show his learning, might interpolate the , but even this might be an error for .

consist of two signs, *a crooked staff* ( ) either double or with *a twisted cord* ( ), and the final sound of the name (when expressed) is in , . The key to the phonetic reading of the name of the Heliopolitan Nome is to be found in the inscription at Edfu (J. de Rougé, *Edfou*, pl. 46); . Here the *crook* of the name is identified with the *crook* and *flail* *ams*, *ȧms*,  or *emsit* of Osiris, who is called in the Book of the Dead (*Todt.*, 142, 9) , *the August Dismembered* one of the Powers of Annu.* And this is how, in the important papyrus *Pc*, we find in Ch. 17 as the equivalent of , a few words after, in the same papyrus. Both groups are to be read *ȧmsu ;* which means *furnished with the crook (or sceptre) and flail,* or .†

22. *Hot of foot* .

The Coptic ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲃϩⲧ, *poenitentiam agere*, would be the natural representative of , but the meanings of the terms cannot be the same. The latter is expressive of a passion, the indulgence in which may be laudable in the gods and yet blameworthy in men. For the divine wrath is necessarily just; whereas human anger, even when it seems to listen to reason, listens, as the philosopher says, but imperfectly.‡

The 29th god, *Kenemta*, , has also for

* The determinatives in , , express the sense of *division*, διαμελισμός, and the insect (a scolopendron) in exhibits the very notion which has given rise to the Latin *insecta* and the Greek ἔντομον.

† For more particular details, see P.S.B.A., viii, p. 245, and following.

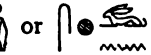
‡ Ἀκούειν τι τοῦ λόγου, παρακούειν δε : *Ethic. Nich.*, viii. 7.

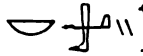
determinative the sign of a cynocephalus. This is explained by his identity with the constellation which occupies the whole month of Thoth in the list of the Decans. But though the name means '*in Ape form*,' the word in the Pyramid Texts (Pepi i, 408, and Merira 579) is used in the sense of 'vested,' 'clad,' perhaps simply 'covered.'

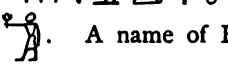
Brugsch has identified the locality *Kenemit* with the Great Oasis at Khargeh. It may be asked if the Oasis bore this name at the time when this chapter was composed. The determinative proves nothing beyond the actual sense of the word, but it suggests that the *Dark* may be a sufficient translation. From the etymology I should like to assimilate it to the ποικιλείμων νὺξ of the Prometheus Vinctus, or to the 'furvo circumdata peplo' of the Latin poet.

23. *Of inconstant mind,* .

24. Another intelligible reading of the precept is, "I rob not the dead of their wrappings"; but the text is so corrupt that none of the readings are of any value.

The god is called or  , both of which words I understand in the sense of *busy-minded, planning, devising, crafty, wise.*

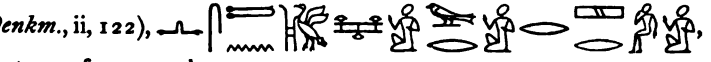
The appellative *Horned one,*  , of the next precept, is the exact equivalent of the Hebrew בַּעַל קְרָנַיִם, and is the attribute of Osiris (*Todt.*, 144, 4), especially in the character of ; under which name he was worshipped at Sutenhunen.

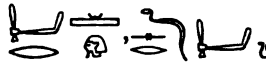
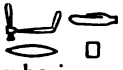
25. *Noisy in speech*  .

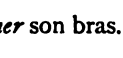
26. *Striker* . A name of Horus, on which see ch. 103, note.

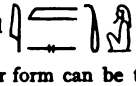
27. There is no locality about which there is any agreement between the older papyri, and many of them omit the mention of a locality; later authorities, like the Turin text, read *Annu.*

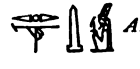
28. *No unjust preferences,* . There is no virtue

more frequently extolled on the funereal monuments than the absence of favouritism. Great personages in their epitaphs are strong in their declarations that they made no distinction between great and small, rich or poor, wise or simple. The declaration of Ameni (*Denkm.*, ii, 122),  , is a type of many others.

29. Of *raised head*,  , or (B.M. 9971)  . This, like the last two, is a name of the Nile god, who is one of the manifestations of Osiris.

29. *Who liftest an arm*,  , not '*amener* son bras.' , like the Greek φέρειν, means *bear* in the sense of *holding up, supporting*. When it signifies *bring* the collateral notion of *motion* is imported from the context. The god Shu, who is called , *holds up, supports, the sky*, but does not *bring* it. The god *who holds up his arm*, is of course the ithyphallic Amon * , who in Ch. 17 is identified not only with Horus but with Osiris.

* There is no such god as *Min* or *Minu*, except as an abbreviated (or perhaps primitive) *orthographic* form of *Amon*. and bear to exactly the same relationship that , have to and  .

Neither *Amen* nor the shorter form can be the phonetic equivalent of . The image of Horus with the Flail at Edfu is described (J. de Rougé, pl. C. 111) as , *Horus as Amsu-Amen*, and I have elsewhere quoted from *Tempel insch.*, I, 32, the  *Amsu- Men* [or *Amen*] as well as *Amsu Horus.*

SOME FRAGMENTS OF THE HEBREW BIBLE WITH PECULIAR ABBREVIATIONS AND PECULIAR SIGNS FOR VOWELS AND ACCENTS.

REV. DR. M. FRIEDLÄNDER.

Postbiblical Hebrew writings abound in abbreviations, and some books have thus been reduced to half their bulk. Students of Hebrew literature do not experience much difficulty in reading and understanding such texts. Occasionally, however, abbreviations lead to some misunderstanding, because the reader does not always guess what the writer expected him to supply. Instances of this kind are ר"ש and ת"י, which were read Rabbi Sh'lomoh Yarḥi and Targum Jonathan instead of Rabbi Sh'lomoh Yitsḥaki and Targum Yerushalmi. A more ancient instance of ambiguity caused by abbreviations we find in the Mishnah, Maaser sheni iv, 11. If a vessel be found marked with one of the letters ק, ת or מ, the contents of such vessel must accordingly be treated as קרבן, "an offering," תרומה, "heave-offering," or מעשר, "tithe." Rabbi Jose, however, is of opinion that these letters indicate the name of the owner. A letter that represents a whole word is called "notaricon" (Mishnah Shabbath xii, 5), Siman = *σημειον* (Sifre on Deut. xxvi, 8). In the Talmud we meet frequently with such abbreviations. Were there copies of the Bible that contained words in an abbreviated form? Some deviations in the ancient translations of the Bible from the Masoretic text suggest the idea that such copies existed; and attempts have been made to explain and alter some difficult passages of the Masoretic text in accordance with this view. It is nevertheless unlikely that copyists made extensive use of abbreviations. With regard to the Pentateuch it is certain that copies for public use required כתיבה תמה, "perfect writing," perfect as regards the form of each letter, and perfect that nothing was to be omitted. The same applies to the book of Esther, and to the sections of the Pentateuch contained in the *mezuzah* and in the *tefillin*. If there existed copies of the Bible with abbreviations they

were probably contrary to the existing custom, and on that account less trustworthy. Important for this question is a discussion recorded in Talmud B. Yoma 37b, in reference to the golden tablet presented by Queen Helena of Adiabene to the Temple in Jerusalem. On this tablet two verses (Num. v, 21,22) were written, and it was intended to serve as a guide for the priest when he had to write these verses in accordance with Num. v, 23. There existed, however, a rule not to copy small passages (*m'gillin*) of the Torah, and in order to reconcile the inscription on the golden tablet with this rule two explanations were offered: (*a*) the inscription was written באלף בית, *i.e.*, by letters, so that of each word only one letter was written (Rashi); (*b*) בסירוגין, "with omissions," *i.e.*, having the first two or three words of each verse in full and the remaining words in an abbreviated form (Rashi). The priest was expected to know the passage by heart, or almost by heart; otherwise such a tablet would have been useless to him. At all events it is evident from these explanations that the method of writing parts of the Bible in the above manner was well known in the time of the Talmud, and seems also to have been known to Rashi. Was a whole book or the whole Bible ever written in this shorthand form? Dr. A. Neubauer called attention in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (January, 1895) to some fragments of this kind found in Egypt and acquired by the Bodleian Library; other fragments have since been added. I examined these fragments and discovered in them a hitherto unknown system of signs for vowels and accents. All these fragments may be divided into three groups:—

A. Ez. xl, 4–xli, 16 and Exod. xxiii, 14–22; xxvi, 12–19.

B. Exod. iii, 8–ix, 10; xi, 1–xii, 18; xviii, 16–xix, 16; and xxvi, 31–xxviii, 3.

C. Is. v, 8–vii, 10; and xlv, 20–xlviii, 11.*

A. The first piece Ez. xl, 4–xli, 16 is written in short lines, each page consisting of two columns. The text is running on and the new verse begins immediately after the last word of the preceding verse, though in the middle of the line. There are no Masoretic notes whatever; the signs for vowels and accents are the ordinary ones, except that long ū וּ is marked by three dots like *shurek*, and that the accent *sarka* has the same form as it has in the Yemen MSS. Of every verse the first word is written in full, and of the rest of the

* A specimen of each fragment is given in Appendix A.

verse only the tonesyllable of each word is given with vowel and accent: *pesik* and *makkef* are marked even when the letter immediately preceding is absent: *e.g.*, אֶל־ = אֶ־; סָבִיב | = בִ־ |. There are several exceptions: instead of the first word of the verse the first two or three are given in some cases; also in the middle of a verse a word is occasionally written in full. In a few instances the cause of this irregularity is apparent; the writer desired to prevent misunderstanding; but in most cases this cannot be the cause of the exception. Later on in the description of the next fragment this point will be fully explained. There are a few instances in which the tonesyllable is given together with the vowels of the preceding syllable, without the consonant; *e.g.*, מֵאָה = מֵ֫אָ֫; הַחֲצֵר = הַ֫חֲצֵ֫ר; וַיַּנִּיאוּ = וַיַּ֫נִּיאוּ; in others the tonesyllable is only represented by vowel and accent, whilst of the toneless syllable the consonant is given; *e.g.*, כַּתֹּךְ = כַּ֫תֹּךְ; וַיָּמֶד = וַיָּ֫מֶד. There is also an instance of a whole word being represented by the accent; viz., אַמָּה אַחַת = חַ֫. On the whole the fragment agrees with the Masoretic text; there are only a few exceptions: שְׁתַּיִם for שְׁתַּיִם; רְצָפָה for רִצְפָּה (Comp. Est. i, 6), וָפֹה for וּמִפֹּה (xl, 10); וּמְדָה for מִדָּה. The second fragment of the first group, Ex. xiv, 11 *sqq.* and xxvi, 12 *sqq.* differs from the first in two points: First, each verse begins a new line; the same is the case of all the fragments of the second and third groups. Exceptionally, when a very short verse is followed by a fairly long one, the second verse begins in the preceding line. In some cases, when the copyist made a miscalculation, and has not sufficient space in the line for the whole verse, the last part of the verse is placed over or under the line at the left hand side. Generally the writer endeavoured to have a line for a verse, and when the verse is short, only few words are abbreviated. The longer the verse is, the smaller is the number of words written in full. The first fragment was probably copied from a MS. written in this way, a line for each verse; the copyist with an original of this kind before him forgot that he wrote in a different style, and retained the words, which, only for a certain reason—to fill the line—were written in the original in full; the fact that he mechanically copied from another MS. seems also evident from other circumstances, *e.g.*, for the original כַּתֹּךְ = כַּ֫תֹּךְ he wrote ֫תֹּךְ. Secondly, a few traces of the Masora

are to be noticed in this fragment; the notes are not, as is usually the case, in the margin, but in the body of the page over the letter, viz., סָרוּחַ, Ex. xxvi, 12, is marked ל; it is *hapax legomenon;* xxvi, 13, מְכֻסֶּה is marked ב, there being only two instances of the word in the absolute state; לָאֹהֶל (*ibid.*) has ג to indicate that the word אהל with the prefix ל occurs three times, and אַמּוֹת (ver. 16) is marked מל, referring to the presence of *vau* in the word.

B. *The Second Group.* This group is distinguished from the first by one characteristic: the vowel O has two different signs, according as it occurs in the middle of a word written in full or almost in full, or in a syllable that represents a whole word. In the former case it is expressed by the ordinary sign for *ḥolem*, in the latter case by the three dots over the letter (אָ). The accent *segol*, which is likewise superlinear and has the same form, is inverted in this fragment (אָ). There are only a few exceptions from this rule, that the ordinary sign for *ḥolem* occurs in abbreviations, and the three dots in words written in full. A plausible reason can be given for some of these exceptions, whilst others seem to be due to mere carelessness or indifference on the part of the copyist; *e.g.*, יַעֲקֹב and רו = כְּבֻשָׁרוֹ. The difference in the form of the *ḥolem* does not appear to affect the pronunciation or the meaning of the word, and the question may naturally be asked why a second form of *ḥolem* was introduced. The ordinary sign for *ḥolem* is identical with that of *rebia*, so that the one may easily be taken for the other, especially when only one letter is given of the whole word. In order to prevent misunderstanding, a different sign, or rather one borrowed from another system, was introduced. The Masoretic notes, which are more numerous than in the first fragment, are given in the margin. They deviate but little from the Masora in the ordinary editions of the Bible, *e.g.*, מסך — ד instead of ג, and the difference may be due to an error on the part of the copyist. Noteworthy is the dagesh in the *lamed* of the word לֹּא (iii, 19, iv, 1), for the sake of emphasis. In the margin the beginning of the Sedra is indicated by the letter ס to which a second letter is added indicating the number of the Sedra. Ex. iv, 18 is marked סג; vi, 2, סד; vii, 8, סה; viii, 16, סו; xi, 1 begins again with ס (probably for first Sedra); so also xix, 7; xxvi, 31, סה. It is possible that Exodus was divided

into four or five sections, each of which was subdivided into sedras, and that the division refers to the triennial course for the public reading of the Pentateuch.

C. *The Third Group*, consisting of two fragments of Isaiah. These differ from those already described in two points: (*a*) they contain a peculiar system of signs for vowels and accents; let us call it the Palestinian system; (*b*) the method of shortening the words is different from that employed in the other fragments.

(*a*.) *Vowels.**—The signs for vowels are the following: אָ (kamets), אַ (pathaḥ), אֶ (segol), אֵ (tsere), אִ (ḥirek), אֹ (ḥolem), and אֻ (shurek). All these signs are superlinear. Two of them consist of a small line, a perpendicular one (kamets), and a horizontal one (pathaḥ). All other vowels, viz., i, ĕ, ē, ei and also u are represented by a pair of dots, and are distinguished from each other by the relative position of the two dots to each other, the second dot being placed exactly over it, or slantingly to the right, or to the left, or beside it in a horizontal line; ḥolem, being considered the strongest and fullest vowel, in accordance with the meaning of the name ḥolem (="strength"), is represented by three dots in form of a segol. This arrangement classifies shurek in one group with i, e, ei, and thus seems perhaps to imply that the originators of the system pronounced shurek like the French u, or the German modified ü. Long kamets and short kamets were pronounced alike, and were accordingly expressed by one and the same sign, *e.g.*, וַיַּעַשׂ = וַיַּעַשׂ; בְּדָבְרָם = בְּדָבְרָם. How kamets was pronounced is not quite certain, but it is certain that it was unlike pathaḥ as the difference between the signs of these two vowels (אָ, אַ) is greater than in the other systems. No vowel is represented by one dot, this sign being reserved for the accents. There is no sign for *sheva; sheva mobile* has become in this system a short vowel (ĭ, ĕ or ă), *e.g.*, וַיֵּרֶד = וַיֵּרֶד. The presence or absence of dagesh is indicated by a semicircle over the letter, in two different positions, with the opening on the right hand side or downwards; the former indicates the presence of dagesh (אָ), the latter (אָ) its absence; only in one case the dagesh is marked in the ordinary way, by a dot in the middle of the letter, namely in the case of *mappek hé*, *e.g.*,

* A synopsis of the vowel signs of the three systems is given in Appendix C.

לָהּ = לָהּ. It is noteworthy that aleph has occasionally the ordinary sign of *rafeh* or absence of dagesh, and we assume therefore that *aleph* had perhaps two different sounds, as is the case with the letters ב ג ד כ פ ת.

(*b.*) *Accents.*—The signs for the accents are of the same simple arrangement as those for the vowels. The system includes only four signs for disjunctive, and four signs for conjunctive accents; namely *rebi'a* (אֽ), *tipḥa* (אַ = אַ), *tebhir* (אֲ = אֲ), pashta (אַ = אַ or אַ), *munaḥ* (אֲ = אֲ), *mercha* (אֲ = אֲ), *telisha ketanah* (אֲ = אֲ) and *kadma* (אַ = אַ). A single dot, according as it is placed over, in, or under the letter, represents *rebi'a*, *tipḥa*, or *tebhir;* two points, in a horizontal line, are *pashta;* of the conjunctive accents three are sublinear: *munaḥ* (אֲ), *mercha* (אֲ), and *telisha* (אֲ), kadma (אַ) alone is superlinear; besides these signs there is one for *pesik* (׀ = אׁ), separating two words, joined by a conjunctive accent, and for *makkef* a horizontal line between two words, the first of which is toneless. *Athnaḥ* and *sof-pasuk* are not represented in this system. *Athnaḥ* and *sof-pasuk*, as the signs for the chief pauses, are expected to be known by the reader, even if they are entirely omitted. Besides, *tipḥah* is the forerunner of these two accents; in each line or verse, almost identical in this fragment, the first *tipḥa* is followed by *athnaḥ*, the second by *sof-pasuk;* if a word stands between *tipḥa* and the pause, that word has *munaḥ or mercha. Tipḥah*, *tebhir*, *pashta*, *mercha*, and *telisha* correspond exactly to the same accents in the Tiberian system; of the remaining three each one represents two or more accents of the ordinary system.

The two sets of signs, that of the vowels and that of the accents, are part of one and the same scheme; the author of the one must be the author of the other. For all the variations in the position of one dot occur only in the system of accents, whilst all the possible variations of two dots indicate only vowels—with one exception—viz., the sign for shurek is also the sign for pashta. The apparent exception may be explained as follows: The two dots representing *pashta* were perhaps placed over the letter a little to the left, like the sign for *pashta* in the Tiberian system, and pashta was thus distinguished by its position from the vowel *shurek;* subsequently, however, copyists neglected this distinction, and the two signs

became identical. But even then it would seem strange, that the author of this system could not find a new sign for *pashta*, and keep to the above distinction between the signs for accents and those for vowels. We conclude therefore that this fragment contains a modified and amplified form of the original simple system. Originally there were only four signs for accents: three disjunctive, *tipḥa*, *tebhir*, and *rebhi'a*; and one sign for all conjunctive accents, namely, a perpendicular under the letter. In course of time it was found necessary successively to give special signs to *pashta*, *telisha*, and *kadma*, and to distinguish between *mercha* and *munaḥ*. These additions were made irrespective of the original plan; hence the seeming absence of plan and unity. Comparing this system with the Tiberian, we notice two signs that occur in both: *munaḥ* (֥) and *rebhi'a* (֗); the former representing two different accents in the two systems, the latter, though denoting the same accent in both, is in the Palestinian system of a more comprehensive character. Did the author, or the authors, of the Palestinian system know the other two systems? The fragment before us does not betray any such knowledge on the part of the authors. When special signs were wanted for *mercha* and *pashta*, these would have been selected from the signs of the other two systems, if they were known to the authors. As this was not done, it follows that either the two other systems did not exist at all at the time, or at least were not yet generally known.*

(*b.*) *The second peculiarity* of this fragment is the peculiar method of abbreviating the text. The first word of the verse is written in full, the rest of the verse is given only by *simanim*, which do not, as in the other fragments, consist exclusively of the tonesyllables, nor are they *rashe tebhoth*, the initial syllables of the word; but only such syllables were selected as seemed to the copyist most characteristic of the words. Nor are all the words of the verse represented; whilst accentless words are regularly represented by a letter with the sign of *makkef*, words with *athnaḥ* and *sof-pasuk* and other weighty words are frequently absent. In some cases two or more syllables of a word are given, probably where, according to the judgment of the scribe, a mistake on the part of the reader was anticipated, in respect to vowel, accent, or *dagesh* and

* A synopsis of the signs for the accents of the three systems is given in Appendix B.

rafeh: e.g., in the verse Is. xlv, 21* יַחְדָּו and זוּלָתִי are not represented at all; of every other word the tonesyllable is given; of יִוָּעֲצוּ the first two syllables were added to the tonesyllable, in order to remind the reader of the Nifal form of the word; an extra syllable has for a similar reason been added to the tonesyllable of הַשְׁמִיעַ and הַגִּידָה. In v, 27 there are three instances of an accentless syllable representing the word: עָוֶל (עֹ) כֹּשֶׁל (כֹּ) and נֶעֱלָיו (נֹעֲ). To the scribe these syllables seemed more characteristic of the words than the tonesyllables. The Tetragrammaton is as a rule read *adonai*. Six words of this verse are not represented.

What was the object of writing these abbreviations? Was it to replace the complete Bible? Under what circumstances? Although the copying of the Bible, or at least the Pentateuch, was considered a religious duty for every Israelite, copies of the Bible, or of Biblical books, were not in superabundance, and were not found in the house or in the hands of every Israelite. In every synagogue and Beth hammidrash there was probably kept at least one complete copy for the use of the public and for the guidance of copyists. But copies of parts of the Bible in an abbreviated form could easier be prepared in larger numbers; pupils of the schools might have had such copies for the purpose of repeating at home what they had learnt in school. Official readers in the synagogue could in this way repeat and practice the correct reading, without each time resorting to a complete copy of the Torah or Bible; such copies were also convenient for another reason: they did not require the great care which the holiness of the Bible, and especially the Torah, demanded; when torn, they could be thrown away; mistakes could be corrected in any number, without requiring *genizah* as *pasul, i.e.*, unfit for public use. Another circumstance might also have favoured the preparation of abbreviated Bibles: I mentioned already the rule that Biblical books were not to be written piecewise; even for the use of pupils a whole book, or at least a complete section of a book, had to be written at a time, whilst a copy in the abbreviated form was not restricted in any way as to its length. Biblical books of this kind, it may be suggested, were also used by copyists and punctators as a help or guide in their professional work. But the last mentioned fragment would, in

* See Appendix A.

consequence of the method adopted for the abbreviations, be least suitable for the purpose; for not all writers experience the same difficulty, whilst in this fragment the omissions and the selection of syllables depended entirely on the facility or difficulty in reading which this particular writer experienced. Not so the first two groups of fragments. In these no word is wanting; the tonesyllable is regularly given; they would therefore have served also this purpose. But where are all these copies? As they were not considered as holy, and did not require גניזה, they were thrown away or destroyed when no longer wanted. It may also be, that in order to show that such copies were different from the ordinary copies of the Scriptures, the copyists did not use the ordinary signs, and where these appear, they seem to have been employed accidentally. The second group of fragments betrays a knowledge of the third or Palestinian system in addition to the Tiberian one, in the double form of the vowel *o*, and shows also that in the mind of the copyist the third system was somehow connected with abbreviations.

It seems therefore that these signs for vowels and accents, as we have them in the third group of fragments, were not only arranged independently of the Tiberian system, but even before the birth of the latter, and when superseded by the Tiberian signs, it continued only to live in copies of the Bible with abbreviations.

Mention is made in the Commentary on Aboth contained in Maḥzor Vitri of three different ways of punctuation (*nikkud*). Before these fragments were known to me, I was of opinion that the author of the Commentary merely referred here to three variations of the Tiberian system, because he wrote in France, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, when this was the only system known to grammarians and commentators. But now, as we are in possession of three distinct systems of signs for vowels and accents, I am inclined to think that these are really referred to in Maḥzor Vitri in the Commentary on Aboth i, 1. The three ways of punctuation are called *shellanu* (ours), *shel erets yisrael* (Palestinian), and *nikkud Tibrani* (Tiberian). Now it is well known that in the age of the author of Maḥzor Vitri, the Tiberian system was the only one then in use in Europe; and yet by "our system" either of the other two must be understood. The Commentary is a compilation from different authors, and this note has Babylon for its birthplace, and its father is probably a Rabbi who lived there several centuries before R. Simḥah, the author of Maḥzor Vitri; and he uses the term

"ours" in the way it is used in the Babylonian Talmud in contrast to "Palestinian." These two systems preceded the work of the Tiberian school, and were of the earliest attempts to mark in a systematic way vowels and accents. There were probably several other attempts, but these two were adopted by scribes, the one in Palestine, the other in Babylon. When the work of the Tiberian school was completed, and adopted both in Palestine and in Babylon, the two older systems were supplemented from the new one, but had ultimately to leave the new competitor alone in the field. The Babylonian system continued for a long time to live in countries too distant to be in constant contact with the central seats of learning; and when at last the new system became known to them, they did not like to give up entirely the system already hallowed by age; they retained it chiefly for the Targums, the lessons from the Prophets, and Hagiographa. How long the Palestinian lived, and how far it spread, and whether it was only restricted to abbreviated texts, cannot be learnt from the one MS. of the Bodleian Library. But as these fragments were slow in coming forth to light, some more may still linger behind, which I hope, in the interest of science, will soon come forth from the place in which they were allowed to enjoy a long rest.

APPENDIX A.

Ez. xl, 13.

וַיָּמָד אֶת־הַשַּׁ מִגַּבַּ הַהָ גּ ר֔ ךְ מֵ מָּ פֶּתַח גַּ פָּ :

Ex. xxiii, 14, 15.

שָׁלֹשׁ רְגָלִים חָ לֵ נִ : אֶת־ חַג צ

מַּ ע מְ כ צֹ שֶׁ תִּ עֲ חָ בִּ כִּי־בוֹ יָצָ רֵ ל־אָ נִ מִּ׃

Ex. iv, 18.

וַיֵּלֶךְ מֹשֶׁ וַיָּשָׁ אֶ יֶּת ׀ חֹ֗ וַיֹּאמֶ ל֣ אֵ֠ נִּ שְׁ אֶ־חַ שָׁרַ֨ אֶ דַ יִּ

Is. vi, 2.

שרפים ם· מִ שְׁ פְּ שְׁ לֹ תִּ· נִ תִּ סָ

Is. v, 27.

איך עִ כֻּ֔ לָ נִ תִּ אֵ ל־ נֹּתֹ֖ סִ נִּעִ

Is. xlv, 21.

הַגִּידוּ גִּ אֵ יּוֹצִ מִ הִמְ זְ קִ אְ גִּדֵּהּ לִ נִ יּ אֵ־ עִ הּ דּ אֵ־ דְ שִׁ אֵ

APPENDIX B.

(*a*.) DISJUNCTIVE ACCENTS.

	Tiberian.	Babylonian.	Palestinian.
Sof pasuk . . .	׃	׃	
Athnaḥ	֑	֑	
Tipḥa	֒	֒ or ֒	֒
Tebhir	֓	֓	֓
Rebhi'a	֗	֗	
Zakef-gadol . .	֕	֕	֕
Zakef-katan . .	֔	֔	
Pashta	֙	֙	֙ or ֙
Yethib	֚	֚	
Geresh	֜	֜	֜
Gershayin . . .	֝	֝	
Zarka	֞	֞	
Segol	֟	֟	֟
Pesik	׀		׀

(*b*.) CONJUNCTIVE ACCENTS.

	Tiberian. Babylonian.	Palestinian.
Munaḥ	֣	֣
Mercha	֤	֤
Mahpach . . .	֥	֥ or ֥
Darga	֦	֦
Telisha	֧	֧
Makkef	־	־ or ־

APPENDIX C.

VOWELS.

	Tiberian.	Babylonian.	Palestinian.
Kamets	אָ or אָ	אָ	אָ
Pathaḥ	אַ	אַ	אַ
Tsere	אֵ	אֵ	אֵ
Segol	אֶ	אֶ	אֶ
Sh'va	אְ	אְ	אְ
Ḥirek	אִ	אִ	אִ
Ḥolem	אֹ or אוֹ	אֹ	אֹ
Shurek	אֻ or אוּ	אֻ	אֻ
Dagesh	ּ	ּ or ּ*	ּ or ּ

* In Pinsker's *Einleitung in das Babyl.-Hebr. Punctationssystem* this line modifies the vowel preceding the letter with dagesh; but in a fragment brought by my friend Mr. Elkan Adler from Egypt I noticed that the sign for dagesh is absent and is replaced by a line over the preceding vowel.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING PROFESSOR PETRIE'S EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY.

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The last chapter of Professor Petrie's "History of Egypt," which deals with the difficult question of chronology, calls for a few remarks in consequence of an inaccurate estimate of the length of certain astronomical periods, to which attention has not been drawn by the leading Egyptologists.

Egyptian chronology may be calculated in two distinct ways. First there is the method of dead reckoning, by which the reigns of successive kings or dynasties are simply added together, and the sum taken for the number of years from one point of time to another. This method is capable of universal application and needs no explanation. For short periods it is irreproachable, but for long ones it is less trustworthy, as any error once introduced is necessarily perpetuated or increased.

The second method is peculiar to Egypt. It depends on the observed inaccuracy of the Egyptian calendar. The year in Egypt always contained 365 days. Hence the civil calendar fell one day behind the astronomical every four years. The Egyptians were aware of this retrogression, but made no attempt to rectify it. At the same time they occasionally noted the extent of the discrepancy, and some of their observations, separated by wide intervals, have been preserved.

It is clear that if every four years the Egyptian calendar fell one day behind the true calendar, in course of time it must necessarily fall a whole year behind, and then a new cycle would begin in which the previous relationships of the civil and astronomical calendars would be exactly repeated. It is on the length of this cycle that Egyptian chronology depends. It has been calculated at 1460 years, that being the time required for the calendar to lose 365 days at the rate of a quarter of a day every year. A curious error is involved in this apparently simple calculation.

The exact length of the year is not $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. That number is only an approximation due to Sosigenes, and adopted by Julius Cæsar, but now abandoned by all western nations in favour of the closer approximation of Gregory XIII. The true length of the tropical year is 365·242216 days. The consequence is that the error of the Egyptian calendar is rather less than a quarter of a day in a year. The cycle must therefore be extended, and its true length is 1507 years. Major Conder has, I believe, called attention to the necessity of this correction, but Egyptologists generally have ignored it.

Further correction is necessary in consequence of the precession of the Ecliptic. The Egyptians in their observations did not regard the natural seasons of the year, but the position of the sun in relation to the fixed stars. Now the length of the sidereal year is 365·256374 days, and the cycle corresponding is $1423\frac{3}{4}$ years. But even this is not the end. For the particular star chosen by them for comparison was Sirius, a star which unfortunately has a large proper motion of its own. So that while the annual precession of the Ecliptic amounts to 50″·2622, the corresponding change in the right ascension of Sirius is only 39″·66. The year then as regulated by Sirius is intermediate between the sidereal and tropical years, and actually amounts to 365·253388 days, and the corresponding length of the cycle is $1440\frac{1}{2}$ years. Professor Petrie therefore, in company with other Egyptologists, is involved in an error of $19\frac{1}{2}$ years in each cycle, or one year in seventy-five.

Note was taken each year of the day on which Sirius could first be seen emerging from the glow of the morning sunlight. The cycle began when it was so seen on the 1st of Thoth. Now one cycle is recorded by Censorinus as beginning A.D. 139. The previous one has therefore been calculated for B.C. 1322, and before that cycles began B.C. 2782, 4242, and 5702. But, from a wrong estimate of the length of the cycle, all these dates are too early, and we should correct them to 1302, 2743, 4183, and 5624.

Now we have three records of this heliacal rising belonging to the important period of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. The last of these, which should be considered first, belongs to the second year of Merenptah, the Pharaoh of the Exodus, in which year Sirius rose with the sun on the 29th of Thoth. The date of this has been calculated by Professor Petrie thus:—$1322-(29\times4)$ = 1206. But the date 1322 is, as we have seen, nineteen or

twenty years too early, and an error of a year or two in the opposite direction is involved in the period of 116 years during which the day of the heliacal rising moved from the 1st to the 29th of Thoth. The true date therefore is B.C. 1188. That of Merenptah's accession would consequently be 1190, and of the Exodus about 1283. It is necessary to remark that in all these dates there is a possible error of four years.

Another heliacal rising of Sirius is recorded in the reign of Tahutmes III, this time on the 28th of Epiphi. Mahler, followed by Professor Petrie, dates this B.C. 1470, but, his error being now 22 years, this date must be reduced to 1448.

The third case is supposed to belong to the ninth year of Amenhotep I, when Sirius rose with the sun on the 9th of Epiphi. This has been dated B.C. 1546, but should be reduced to 1523.

But Mahler has further checked his chronology by the calculation of the new moons recorded in the reign of Tahutmes III. This introduces a totally new element, but does not in reality fortify his dates. The length of the lunar month is 29·5306 days, and that of the lunar year is consequntly twelve times as long, or 354·373 days, the deficiency as compared with the Egyptian year being 10·627 days. From these figures it will be seen that the accumulated deficiencies of twenty-five years differ from nine lunations by only two hours. In other words, after twenty-five years the moon has returned to nearly the same position, and its phases recur with so great exactness that a day's error would only arise in three centuries. When then Mahler dates the reign of Tahutmes III from the 20th of March, B.C. 1503, to the 14th of February, 1449, we may unhesitatingly substitute the 14th of March, 1478, and the 8th of February, 1424, the Julian and Egyptian calendars having diverged six days in twenty-five years.

But here I confess to some doubt as to the true date of the new moons. The new moon is properly counted from the moment of actual conjunction with the sun. But the Jews and Arabs, and probably Tahutmes also, counted from the first appearance of the crescent moon in the evening sky. This takes place two days later than the conjunction, and if Tahutmes so counted, we must date him three years later. For a lunar month is two days less than three times the annual deficiency of the lunar year. I hazard this suggestion, but without sufficient confidence to depart further than is necessary from the dates calculated by Mahler and Professor Petrie.

The dates of the kings of these dynasties as corrected on the lines indicated above would be much as follows :—

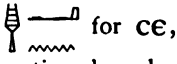
	B.C.		B.C.
Aahmes	1557	Amenhotep IV ...	1360
Amenhotep I	1532	Rasmenkhka ...	1348
Tahutmes I	1511	Tutankhamen ...	1339
Tahutmes II	1490	Ay	1327
Queen Hatshepsut ...	1478	Horemheb	1315
Tahutmes III	1456	Ramessu I	1310
Amenhotep II	1424	Sety	1308
Tahutmes IV	1406	Ramessu II... ...	1257
Amenhotep III... ...	1397	Merenptah	1190

On the chronology of all the earlier kings there is but one check that can be applied to the dead reckoning. It depends upon the fall of the Nile in the reign of Merenra, fourth king of the sixth dynasty. By means of the cycle of 1460 years this has been dated about B.C. 3350, with a possible error of 28 years. Professor Petrie indeed speaks of "an uncertainty (to put it liberally) of 50 or 100 years," but surely this is too great a latitude, as his own parenthesis implies, since not more than seven days of Epiphi are in question. But here again the cycle of 1460 years is misleading. Yet in such a question as the rise or fall of the Nile we are clearly not dependent on the sidereal cycle we have used hitherto, but on the tropical cycle; for the seasons all over the world are regulated by the tropical year. Instead of 1460 years we must therefore reckon 1507, and advance the date of Merenra from B.C. 3350 to 3466, again with a possible error of 28 years. This date will be found in striking agreement with Professor Petrie's dead reckoning, by which he dated the reign of Merenra from B.C. 3447 to 3443.

I must apologize for the length of this contribution, and for venturing to raise my voice among those whose services to Egyptology are so remarkable.

NOTE ON DEMOTIC PHILOLOGY.

F. L. GRIFFITH.

The study of demotic as the link between New Egyptian and Coptic has reached a stage from which its further development promises to be full of interest, now that Erman's *Neuägyptische Grammatik* and *Egyptian Grammar* have been added to Brugsch's *Wörterbuch*, and Stern's masterly *Koptische Grammatik* has come to the aid of Peyron's *Lexicon*.* The grammars and lexicons are now so far advanced, especially in Coptic, that the beginner in demotic is startled at his own progress in a subject which he finds to have been treated generally with little regard for accuracy. Many, indeed, are the "discoveries" which can be made by anyone who has obtained the merest smattering of Coptic, without reference to Stern or any other authority. It is strange, for example, to find that Brugsch, who carried forward the study with giant strides, should have read ⲥⲉ for ⲉⲧ, and  for ⲥⲉ, but stranger still that writers of huge tomes on demotic, whose knowledge it would seem is based on Coptic, should have perpetuated instead of correcting his error to this day.

The following examples of some of the first fruits taken from the best known text, the Story of Setna, may serve to indicate the nature of the harvest for such as have time and strength to reap it.

THE PREFIXES CORRESPONDING TO THE COPTIC FIRST PRESENT.

Sing. 1 ⲧ = *twy.*

„ 2 *m.* ⲕ = *ek.*

„ 3 *m.* ⲫ = *ef.*

„ 3 *f.* ⲥ = *es.*

Plur. 3 ⲥⲉ = *st.*

* Remarkable as it is, Steindorff's "Grammar" is, by its nature, of far less importance to the demotist as a work of reference than Stern's.

All, except the last, are derived from the New Egyptian , , , etc. The first of them retains the ; in the case of the others it is almost entirely lost; a trace of it remains, however, in the = ϵ, which indicates the form ϵK, ϵϥ, ϵC, as in the participle. The last group, which has hitherto, but impossibly, been read , is simply .* These forms are found in demotic, (1) in the present tense of verbs, (2) in the present tense with prepositions, (3) in the *past* tense with the verb , "come."

, hitherto read ungrammatically as Cϵ, is of course participial ϵϒ.

NEGATIVES.

(to be read *ôu*) is always followed by = Coptic N . . . ⲁN. It is used with the prefixes of the present tense and with the absolute pronouns , etc., and has a present or else a participial meaning. It thus corresponds to the New Egyptian . The "post negation" , ⲁN is probably identical with the interrogative.

 (to be read *bw pw*), on the other hand, is followed by suffixes, or by the nominal subject of the sentence. It thus corresponds to ⲙⲙN, . seems to be entirely obsolete in demotic.

The above "finds" relate to the grammar; the following concern the lexicon. The *schoenus* measure has not as yet been noticed in demotic, although it occurs frequently in *Setna* under the form (hieroglyphic , etc.; cf. *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XIV, 409), viz., I, 30, 31:—there was "a schoenus of scorpions, etc., etc., surrounding the box" that contained the sacred book of Thoth: also again and again it is stated (II, 5, 13, 17) that it was at "one schoenus north from Coptos" that fate overtook Merab, Ahura, and Ptah-neferka, and, one after another, they fell into the river.

* Prof. Piehl has shown that not corresponds in New Egyptian to Cϵ. *Aeg. Zeits.*, xxxiii, 40.

According to all authorities ⲁ/ϣ = ⲱⲗ; really it = ⲁⲗϩⲓ : ⲁⲗⲉ, ascendere, conscendere navem. *Setna*, I, 24; II, 5, etc., etc.

ⲁⲥⲏ *lk* = (ⲣⲓⲕⲓ!); really = ⲗⲟ : ⲗⲱⲱⲭⲓ. N.B.—The Coptic words quoted agree with the demotic exactly in the usage with the reflexive pronoun for "to cease," and in the other meaning "to be healed," as in the Moschion text: also in the rare imperative form with / = ⲁ, viz., ⲟⲩⲁⲥⲏ//, *Setna*, III, 6 = S. ⲁⲗⲟ-ⲕ. The dropping of the ⲭ?, or ⲥ?, in the Sahidic is very curious and unexpected, so also is the ⲥ for Boheiric ⲭ; but *cf.* the causative, ⲧⲁⲗⲥⲟ. There is another curious and unexpected example concerning ⲥ and ⲭ in ⲥⲟⲭⲓ, ⲁⲛⲛⲏ *gge*, "run," *Setna*, III, 31 (the determinative shows that it cannot be ⲭⲏⲭ).*

ⲗⲁⲡⲁⲓ *ḥr twn*, *Setna*, III, 29, IV, 13 = the Sahidic preposition ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲛ, "by the side of." What the etymology of the word may be I do not yet see; Stern's account of it can only be correct if the demotic spelling is false.

Much more of the same kind could be gathered from the text of *Setna* alone, but the above hastily gleaned notes are, I think, enough to prove the truth of my opening statements.† In Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Holland, and America‡ there are signs that several sound Coptic and hieroglyphic scholars are closing in upon this branch of enquiry, and we may expect a brilliant future for it, important not only for philology, but also, in connection with Greek papyri, for history in the widest sense of the word.

* I have been so fortunate as to find a second example of the word, confirming entirely the above identification, in a text which will be published shortly.

† It follows that the translations of Hess, Maspero and Revillout, as well as that printed in Professor Petrie's *Egyptian Tales* (second series), require much correction in detail. One of the most striking of these is in III, 31, where Ptah appears to Setna like a king, not "taller than a staff, and with many men trampled under his feet!" (a description that suggests, if anything, some Lamaist monstrosity), but "riding in a chariot (or litter), with many attendants running at his feet."

‡ In France, Prof. Maspero has unfortunately withdrawn from active participation in the study: to Prof. Revillout demotists will be lastingly grateful for his energy in publishing splendid photographic plates of papyri, as well as for highly useful pioneer work amongst certain classes of texts.

THE NAME CHAEREU.

ECCLESBOURNE, KEW GARDENS,

February 29, 1896.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

Mr. F. L. Griffith, in his "Chaereu to Hermopolis," in this month's *Proceedings*, says, "I do not know of any Egyptian name that might answer to Chaereu." But Vicomte Jacques de Rougé, in his "Geographie Ancienne de la Basse-Égypte," suggests Ḳeruu, saying it is frequently found in the Geographical lists, and that Brugsch thought it was to be recognised in the town of Χαιρέου cited by Strabo, which in Coptic was called ϫερϩ, the modern Al Kerim to the east of Lake Mareotis.

As *apropos* of Egyptian names, may I venture to call attention, because of its appropriateness to our Society, of the identification by Professor Maspero of two names mentioned in the "Travels of Saneha," with their counterparts in the Old Testament?

These are the Kadima with Kedemah קֶדְמָה son of Ishmael of Genesis xxv, 15; and the AAA, IAA, with Aia אַיָּה son of Zibeon, son of Seir, the Horite, of Genesis xxxvi, 24. See "Recueil de Travaux," vol. xvii, p. 142.

Yours sincerely,

JOS. OFFORD, Junior.

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS AT ASSUÂN.

BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE.

THIS winter the diggers for *sebakh* or nitrous earth have uncovered some very interesting monuments of the Roman age at Assuân, to the south of the modern town and a little to the east of the railway station. Here they have found the remains of a paved road, running east up to a point where on one side of it (the north) is the granite base of a statue, and on the other or southern side are two granite bases. The easternmost of these adjoins a block of limestone which served as part of a gate-post. It must therefore have been the entrance to one of the temples (if not the chief temple) of Syênê.

The granite base (No. 1) on the north side is engraved with two dedicatory inscriptions, one to Germanicus, the other to Nerva Trajan; the two on the south side are dedicated to Antoninus Pius and Aurelius Verus, the inscriptions facing north. The historical value of the inscriptions is considerable, as they give the names, not only of the præfects of Egypt, but also of the præfects of the Camps, as well as the names of the officers commanding the cavalry at Syênê. Indeed the information they afford in regard to the military occupation of Syênê at the time is most welcome.

The date of the præfecture of Heliodorus over Egypt is moved a few years back by the newly-found inscriptions, while M. Annius Suriacus is new. The "præfects of the Camps" were the commanders of the Roman army stationed in Egypt, which was not under senatorial legates as elsewhere. During the reign of Augustus, when there were three legions in the country, there were three præfects, but when the third legion was withdrawn by Tiberius, and the camps of the other two fixed at Alexandria, only one commander-in-chief was appointed, who took the title of "præfectus castrorum." The names of a few of these præfects are known, and the newly-discovered text will add to their number.

The inscriptions, I should add, are well engraved and well preserved. These are my copies of them:—

Pedestal I: on the north side: inscription on the south face:

C . CAESARI . AVG . GERMANICO . DIVI . AVG .
PRONEPOTI . TI . CAESARIS . AVG . N . GER
MANICI . CAESARIS F .
COS . II . TRIB . POTEST . PONTIF . MAXIMO .
IMP . PATRI . PATRIAE
PER . C . VITRASIVM . POLLIONEM . PRAEF .
AEGYP . COHORS . ITVRAEOR .
CVI . PRAEST . L . FIENIVS . L . F . FAL . SA
TVRNINVS . ANNO . III . C . CAESARIS .
AVGVSTI .
GERMANICI . IIII . K . MAIAS . M . . . . . .
. . . . N . DHIII . . .

Pedestal I: inscription on the east face:

IMP . CAESARI
NERVAE TRAIANO . AVG .
GERM . PONT MAX . TRIBVNIC .
POTEST . COS . II . P . P . PER . C . POMPEIVM .
PLANTAM . PRAEF . AEG . ET . L . CINVCIVM .
PRISCVM .
PRAEF . CASTROR . COH . TRES I HISPA
NOR . EQ . CVI . PRAEEST . TI . CLAVDIVS .
AFRICANVS . ET . II . ITVR . EQ . CVI . PRAE
EST . TI . CLAVDIVS . BERENICAEVS .
ET . I . THEB . EQ . CVI PRAEEST . P . CIRVDI
VS . IVSTVS . CVRAM . AGENTE . I (?) .
CLAVDIO .
IVSTO . PRAEF . COH . I . THEB . EQ . ET . CV
RATORE . COH . I . HISPANOR . EQ . ET
COH . II . ITVRAEOR . EQVIT .

Pedestal II: on the south side: north face:

IMP . CAESARI . DIVI . HADRIANI . FIL .
DIVI . TRAIANI . PARTHICI . NEPOTI .
DIVI . NERVAE . PRONEPOTI .

PVBLIO . CAESARI . HADRIANO . ANTONINO .
AVG . PIO .
PER . C . AVIDIVM . HELIODORVM . PRAEF . AEG . ET .
M . OSCIVM . DRVSVM . PRAEF . CASTROR . COH .
I . FL . CILIC . EQVIT .
CVRAM . AGENTE . TARIDIO . MARCELLINO .
LEG . II . TR . FOR .

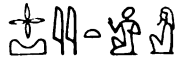
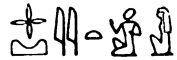
Pedestal III: on the south side: north face:

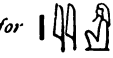
IMP . CAESARI . L . AVRELIO . VERO . AVG .
DIVI . ANTONINI . FIL . DIVI . HADRIANI . NEPOT .
DIVI . TRAIANI . PRONEPOT . DIVI . NERVAE . ABNE
POT .
PONT . MAX . TRIB . POTEST . II . COS . P . P . PER .
M . ANNIVM . SVRIACVM . PRAEF . AEG . ET .
L . CINTASIVM . CASIANVM . PRAEF . CAST .
COH . I . FL . CIL . EQ .
CVRANTE . VALERIO . CORDO . LEG . II .
TR . FORT .

There being no Meeting in April (Bye-law XXXIX), the next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 5th May, 1896, at 8 p.m.

The Library and Offices will be closed for cleaning and decorating from Wednesday, April 8th, to Monday, the 13th of April, inclusive.

ERRATA IN FEBRUARY NUMBER.

P. 47, *for*  *read* 

P. 50, line 17, *for*  *read*

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

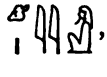
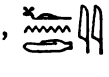
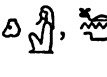
OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION, 1896.

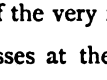
PART 4.

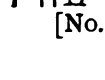
[*April*, 1896. *No Meeting.*]

THE GOD ,  ,  ,  .

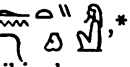
DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

The Museum at Turin has among its treasures one of the most important and interesting monuments illustrative of Egyptian religion in the 'Early Empire.' The third volume of our *Transactions* contains pictures of this most ancient altar, drawn by Mr. Bonomi, with a translation by Dr. Birch of the inscriptions upon it. The chief interest of this monument of the VIth dynasty lies in the list of gods which it presents.

The name of the very first of these gods is written  , and numberless guesses at the phonetic reading of it have been made. The same name occurs among the names of gods upon two cubits of Memphite origin, which have been fully described by Lepsius in a dissertation published by the Berlin Academy of Sciences in 1865.

I was in hopes that in note 11 to my translation of Chapter CXXV of the Book of the Dead, I had settled the question of the phonetic reading of the divine name, which I identified (1) with  on the statue of King Horus at Turin, the inscription of

which leaves no doubt that the name is one of the appellatives of Thoth, and (2) with the god of Chemunnu, who appears as the third among the 42 judges in the Hall of Righteousness.

When it is known who *Fenți* is, there can be no doubt about the appropriateness of the name or yet of its meaning. The Egyptian *fent*, like the Latin *rostrum* and the Greek ῥύγχος, is applied not only to the *snout* or *nose* of an animal, but to the *beak* or *bill* of a bird. or, as the name is also written in the Solar Litanies,  ,* signifies the Ibis deity, so called from one of its most strikingly conspicuous features. *Cf.* the Latin names *Naso*, *Labeo*, *Fronto*.

Why have I to repeat this?

It is because in the February number of our *Proceedings* the unfortunate god was (*after correct proof and correct revise*) docked of his characteristic feature, and the passage in which this outrage upon the deity occurred was thereby reduced to nonsense. I attempted a correction in the March number, but the *erratum* at page 110 was corrected in the proof, but the correction has dropped out of the published number.

I am therefore compelled to call special attention to what is really a horrible grievance.

I confess that a worse fate might have befallen me. I see certain Egyptological publications in which the horned head is substituted for , and we even find put down with the syllabic value *χent*. The wiseacre who invented this is like a foreign schoolmaster who, in teaching English, instructed his class to substitute Fudge whenever Judge had to be written.

This is being translated like Bottom.†

Believe me,

Very truly yours,

P. LE P. RENOUF.

* This is not a simple variant. The suffix must not be confounded with . *Naso* is not the same word as *Nasutus*, though the meaning is not very unlike.

† *Snout.* O Bottom, thou art changed! what do I see on thee?

Bottom. What do you see? you see an ass's head of your own, do you?

Quin. Bless thee, Bottom! bless thee! thou art translated.

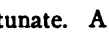
BOOK OF THE DEAD.

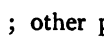
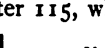
BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

CHAPTER CXXV.

NOTES—*continued.*

31. This introduction to Part III of this chapter occurs only in the Papyrus of Nebkat (*Pe*). Another ancient manuscript (*Pb*) has the words "Said upon approaching triumphantly to the Hall of Righteousness." But the texts generally begin with the invocation, "Hail ye gods, I know you and I know your names."

32. *Reverse of mine,* , a turn of the wheel, which the context implies to be unfortunate. A very absurd reading is  , as if the defendant were master of the fates of his divine judges.

33. *The King who resideth within His own Day.* A very doubtful passage at present. The words do not occur in the oldest text of the chapter (that of Nebseni), and they are omitted here in the later recensions. *Ad* is, as far as I know, the only authority for  ; other papyri having merely , which might possibly correspond to the immediately preceding. The Royal tombs have , and one of the papyri has instead of . All this reminds one of an obscure passage in Chapter 115, where Rā is speaking with  according to the Text of the Turin *Todtenbuch.* Goodwin conjectured that King Amhauf belonged 'to the race of mythical kings who preceded Menes,' and that his history is 'a

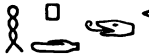
legend somewhat analogous to that of Deucalion and Pyrrha.' There is a much more probable solution of the matter.

 is meant for *Sut*, and it was with this god or * 'in his *course*' that Rā was speaking when the disaster happened to the latter divinity, who for his talk had chosen a wrong *moment*, which really belonged to his adversary. *Cf. supra* note 3 on Chapter 110.

And here too I would instead of read , and the sense of the passage would be "let not reverse of mine come to pass through Sutu, when his time cometh."

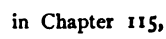
34. *Cares*, in the later texts. The older texts differ greatly from each other: is the most frequent reading.

35. *The Ass and the Cat in the house of Hept-ro.* The two personages who take part in this dialogue are known from other portions of the Book of the Dead. The Cat is Rā in the 17th chapter. And the Ass appears in the 40th chapter, as the victim of the devouring Serpent. The Sun-god overcome by darkness is Osiris; and he is so called by name in the Demotic version of this chapter.

Hept-ro,  , 'god of the gaping mouth.' The word is not found elsewhere, but the meaning of it seems to be indicated by the determinative. It is very probably akin to the more common , which does not mean 'squat' or 'sit,' but 'stretch out,' *distendi*. *Cf.* Note 6, Chapter 63B.

The 'house of the god of the gaping mouth,' seems to be the *Earth*, considered as the universal tomb (*ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ γαῖα μέλαινα πᾶσι χάνοι*, Il. 14, 417). And here Osiris and Rā (the Ass and the Cat) meet daily, 'Yesterday' speaketh to 'To-day.'

יום ליום יביע אמר.

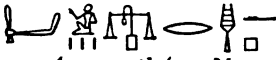
* The Luynes papyrus reads  , which affords good reason for thinking that in Chapter 115, as elsewhere, was originally written without its phonetic value.

36. *Verdict*, .

A note of M. Guyesse in the *Recueil*, X, p. 64, contains references to the chief passages in which this word occurs. I will add a very important one, the picture of a god (Lefébure, *Tombeau de Seti*, p. III, pl. 33) with sword in hand, whose name is this word. The ideographic signs which express it imply (1) 'a *cutting* in two, parting, division,' (2) that the act is one of speech or intellect, such as 'judgment, decision, verdict.' The phonetic equivalence of the signs ⚔ and or show that the value is that of *Seb*.

37. *Covereth.* The right Egyptian word here, as in a similar passage in Chapter 17, is uncertain, but the meaning is plain enough. There are many pictures showing a divinity (the sun or moon-god) hidden within or behind a tree.

38. *That the Balance may be set upon its stand within the bower of amaranth.*

Cf. the passage (Rochemonteix, *Edfou*, p. 191) where mention is made of the divine powers which animate the Princes who are in the train of Osiris and who lift the Balance upon the stand before them  .

Amaranth (see Note 3 of Chapter 26) is only one of the readings of this doubtful text.

39. *Disasters*, bad luck, misfortune. See my note on this word, *T.S.B.A.*, II, p. 313.

40. *Grasshoppers*, . The similar word סלעם, which only occurs in Lev. xi, 22, does not appear to be Semitic. It is a sufficiently familiar word in Egyptian to serve as a term in comparison, 'as plentiful as grasshoppers.'

41. The text here is quite uncertain. The Turin *Todtenbuch* has "the fourth hour of the Night and the eighth hour of the Day," which does not agree with any early reading. *Cd.* has "the fourth hour of the Night and of the Day." Several papyri have the "second hour of the Night and the third of the Day." It was in this passage, as written in B.M. 9904, that, in the year 1860, I found the phonetic value of the Egyptian number 3: a discovery first ascribed by Brugsch* to Goodwin, and afterwards by others to Brugsch himself.

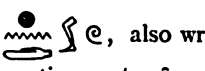
* *Zeitschr.*, No. 3.

42. *The hearts of the gods are appeased,* .

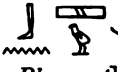
Cf. ΠΔΙ, *ἱλάσκεσθαι*, and ΠΔΗΤ, *ἐλεήμων, οἰκτίρμων*. This explains Pap. Prisse XVII, 6 .

43. *Let him come.* is a tolerably certain reading, but it is not possible to say what should be the word preceding this. The scribes have written 'there he cometh,' 'we grant that he come,' 'I grant,' 'let him be brought in,' and the like.

44. *He who groweth under the Grass,* .

45. *A thigh,*  , also written .

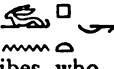
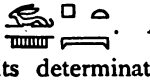
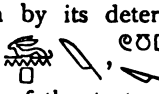
46. *See the greetings: φωνῆ γαρ ὁρῶ, τὸ φατιζόμενον, Oedip. Col.* 138.

47. *The Leaf,*  .

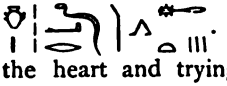
48. *Pointer* [or *Plummet*] *of Truth,* .

49. *The Scale Pan,* .

50. *The Dragon Brood,* .

51. *The Truncheon of Hathor,*  does not appear to be a very familiar word to the scribes, who write it in the most diverse ways possible; one of them even understanding it as the 'opening of heaven'  . All that we can say is that the word is shown by its determinative to be of *wood*, and by its etymology (*cf.* ) to serve for *striking*, *blinding*, or *slaying*. Some of the texts name Hathor, and others Nephthys. The sign occurs in both names, and the scribes have read the rest of the name as best they could.

52. *He who knoweth the heart and exploreth the person,*

 . This is so exactly the equivalent of "Searching the heart and trying the reins" of Jeremiah (xvii, 10), that we might have expected to find something like it in the Coptic version of the Bible. But there we have nothing but a close adherence to the sense of the Septuagint, and even to such a word as *δοκιμάζειν*.

53. *Who provideth for.* is the equivalent of the Greek προνοεῖν in the inscription of Tanis, and of μέριμνα in the Demotic text of the verses of Moschion. The Coptic form is ⲙⲉⲧⲛ, ⲙⲉⲉⲧⲉ, which stands for φρονεῖν in Phil. iv, 10, "Your *care* of me, wherein ye also were *careful*."

Thoth is thus represented as the divine Providence, which takes care of the universe. The same view is found in a text at Edfu.

54. *The Eye* of Horus; see latter part of Note 2, of this chapter.

NOTE ON CHRONOLOGY.

By Wm. F. Petrie, D.C.L.

In giving an outline of the bases of the chronology, I did not think it necessary to show the various stages or considerations which lay under the surface. But I can assure Mr. Fotheringham that full account was taken of all the details which he mentions, as far back as Biot's classical paper in the *Academie des Inscriptions*, 30th March, 1831 (see pp. 597, 602–4, &c.). Biot fully calculated the details and concludes that, owing to proper motion and various causes, Sirius rose heliacally in B.C. 3285 on the same day that it did in Roman times. As the difference of 365¼ from 365·242, the precession, and the proper motion, have all been before those who have calculated the details during the last two generations, I did not think it competent for anyone but a professed astronomer to deal with the method and accuracy of Mahler's results.

I should gladly see anyone examine the matter again, with fuller accuracy and detail; but the criticisms of Mr. Fotheringham and Major Conder are on points already long familiar and already understood. More refinement may be attained, but in points much less obvious than these.

THE BLESSING OF MOSES (DEUT. XXXIII).

BY THE REV. C. J. BALL.

M. = The Masoretic Text. **G.** = The Greek Version. **S.** = The Syriac Version. **A.** = The Arabic Version. **J.** = Jerome (The Vulgate). **T.** = Targum. **ᵴᵴ** = The Samaritan Text. **ᵴᵴT.** = The Samaritan Targum.

As the penultimate chapter of Genesis is mainly occupied by what the compiler regarded as the dying Jacob's blessing of his sons, so the corresponding chapter of Deuteronomy gives what is declared to be the parting benediction of Moses upon the tribes of Israel. Though a younger piece than the one we have already discussed, it is hardly less obscure, owing to manifold corruptions of the Masoretic text. The task here undertaken is the difficult but necessary preliminary to all true exegesis—the restoration, so far as possible, of what the poet originally wrote, or may reasonably be supposed to have written. Our resources will be of the same nature as in the former case. Appeal will be made to the ancient versions, to the indications of context, to the laws of grammar and of poetical construction, and finally to the more ancient models which the author evidently followed.

The opening stanza at once recalls the great Song of Deborah, where the royal progress of Jahvah from the mountain-sanctuary of the south is described in similar language (Judges v, 4, 5). The splendid hymn of Habakkuk as obviously echoes the present strain (Hab. iii, 3).

יהוה מסיני בא	*Jahvah from Sinai came,*
זרח משעיר לנו	*He rose on us from Seir;*
הופיע מהר פארן	*He shone from Paran's highlands,*
ואתה מריבת קדש	*He fared to Meribah-Kadesh;*
מימינו אשדת לו׃	*At His right He had streaming rays.*

In the second line we read לנו, *to us*, instead of למו, *to them*, after G., J., T., S. In l. 4, we restore מריבת קָדֵשׁ, *to Meribah-Kadesh* (Ezek. xlvii, 19; xlviii, 28), in place of the meaningless מרבבת קדֶשׁ, *from holy myriads*. See EWALD. Parallelism demands the local name, which, in fact, is partially preserved by G., *σὺν μυριάσιν Καδής, with the myriads of Kadesh* (reading ברבבת or ברבת; *cf.* Enoch i, 9; Jude 14, *ἐν μυριάσιν*). See Ex. xvii; Num. xx; Deut. xxxii, 51.

The fifth line might be regarded as an early addition, especially as nothing satisfactory can be made of מימינו אֵשׁ דָּת למו (so the Masoretic note directs us to read the line). It is true that T. renders: כְּתָב ימיניה מגו אשתא אוריתא יהב לנא, *A writing His right hand out of the midst of the fire—a law—gave to us; cf.* J. *In dextera ejus ignea lex, In His right hand was a fiery law;* and the version in GESENIUS-BUHL[12], *Zu seiner Rechten ein Gesetzesfeuer ihnen.* But even if דת, *law*, the Persian *dâta*, which only occurs in such late books as Esther, Ezra, Daniel, were allowed to be possible in this context, what, we may ask, is a *law-fire?* It is needless to speculate on the answer. If אש, *fire*, be right, it must, of course, refer to the normal accompaniment or environment of O.T. theophanies; and DILLMANN suggested the correction מימינו אש לפידת לו, *At His right He had flashing fires; cf.* לפידם, Ex. xx, 18. But the Aramaic ܐܫܕ, אשד, *fudit, effudit*, which is used of the outpouring and diffusion of light, *e.g.*, ܐܦܩ ܢܗܝܪܟ, *pour forth thy light!* ܢܗܝܪܐ ܐܦܝܩ, *light shed abroad* or *dispersed* —a phrase occurring several times in Ephrem Syrus, who also applies the epithet ܐܦܝܩ, *late coruscans* to a star, and uses ܐܦܝܩ of the outpouring of light (see the reff. in PAYNE SMITH),—may be thought to justify the *ἅπαξ λεγόμ.* אשדות, in the sense of *outpourings of light, beams*, or *rays* (*cf.* perhaps אשדתא in Targ. 1 Kings vii, 32, *sqq.* = Heb. ידות, *axles*, or, as others have thought, *spokes, radii*, of a wheel). The line thus becomes synonymous with קרנים מידו לו, Hab. iii, 4; while the Aramaism (or rather perhaps Northern Israelitish term) is nothing wonderful in a poem which is generally admitted to be of Ephraimite, not Judean, origin: *cf.* חבב = חַבֵּב, ⲁⲃⲃ, in the very next verse, which is likewise *ἅπαξ λεγόμ.* in the O.T.; the repeated מגד = מגדא,

סאתו, in v. 13, *sqq.*; שפע, v. 19: זנק, v. 22; and דרום, v. 23; all of which find more affinities in Aramean than in Biblical Hebrew. Perhaps, with T., we should read לנו rather than לו here also: *Out of His right hand rays poured on us.* The rays, in any case, are rays of blessing on Israel. Compare the remarkable Egyptian picture appended to this paper.

G. ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ ἄγγελοι μετ' αὐτοῦ = מימינו קדשים עמו (אתו), the translator's eye having wandered to קדשיו in the next verse; *cf.* Job xxxvi, 14, בקדשים = ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων (!) an error due to mispointing.

The next stanza too has suffered greatly in the course of transmission. We read:

אף חבב עמו — *Yea, He loved His people;*
וכל קדשיו ברך — *All His saints He blessed;*
והם הלכו לרגליו — *And they—they followed after Him;*
יסעו בדרכיו — *They did journey on in His ways.*

In the first line 𝔐 has אב, *The Father*, instead of אף, *also.* We have followed G. τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ = עמו, and prefixed ך to the next. עמים might perhaps mean the clansmen, or tribal warriors (*cf.* verse 19; and Judges v, 14); and קדשיו may be equivalent to מקדשיו (Isa. xiii, 3), *His consecrated ones, i.e.*, His warriors. S. has preserved the true reading ברך, instead of בידך, at the end of line 2. The attempts to extract a reasonable sense out of lines 3 and 4, as they stand in the received text, are simply exegetical curiosities. תכו is doubtless a corruption of some verb of motion, such as is required by the context, and suggested by S. (ܐܙܠܘ). The extension of the predicate לרגלך (*leg.* לרגליו) almost implies הלכו or ילכו (*cf.* Hab. iii, 5; 1 Sam. xxv, 42; Judges iv, 10; v, 15). For the sing. ישא, parallelism demands a plur., which is actually given by 𝔐 (ישאו), T., S., J., A. The sense of the previous line being, *And they* (Jahvah's people, or the tribal warriors) *followed in Thy* (His) *train*, we might explain ישאו after Gen. xxix, 1, וישא יעקב רגליו, *And Jacob lifted up his feet, stepped onward.* It is, however, simpler to restore יסעו, *they journey* or *march on* (*cf.* Ex. xiv, 10); a term specially used of nomadic wanderings, like those of Israel in the wilderness (Num. ix, 17-23). The scribal confusion of ס, ש, is found in Ps. iv, 7, נסה for נשא; *cf.* also

v. 19 of the present chapter, where שפני = ספני = צפני. As to the ἄπαξ מדברתיך (G. ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ, with probably correct suffix), בדרכיך (בדרכיו) is an easy correction, so far as concerns the letters, and it satisfies the context. On the other hand, the reference to the giving of the Law, which we find in the Versions, anticipates the next stanza. The subject of this one is Jahvah's leading His people through the wilderness (*cf.* Isa. lxiii, 9–14).

The third stanza (vv. 4, 5) is in better preservation than the previous verses:

תורה צוה לנו משה	*A Law did Moses ordain for us,—*
מורשה לקהל יעקב	*An heirloom for the assembly of Jacob;*
ויהי בישרון מלך	*And a king was made in Jeshurun,*
בהתאסף ראשי עם	*When the heads of the people gathered,—*
יחד שבטי ישראל :	(*When*) *the tribes of Israel met together.*

In the second line we might also read מורש לקהלת יעקב (*cf.* Isa. xiv, 23), or מורשת קהלת יעקב. The Masoretic מורשה קהלת יע׳ is out of construction. In the fifth line, parallelism suggests the pointing of יחד as an infin., dependent on בְּ repeated from the preceding line. *Cf.* Gen. xlix, 6 for the verb יחד in connexion with קהל. We might even restore ביחד, supposing ב to have fallen out after the similar letter מ; but this is not necessary.

The above three stanzas constitute the prelude of the poem, which presents an historical retrospect. In the first stanza Jahvah comes from His eastern sanctuary (to call Israel out of Egypt? *cf.* the narratives of Ex. iii–iv; and Hos. xi, 1); in the second, the people follow their Divine Leader through the wilderness; in the third, Moses gives the Torah (at Sinai or Horeb); and lastly, after the settlement in Canaan, a king is chosen by the chiefs of the tribes, according to the prescription of the Law (Deut. xvii, 14 *sq.*—ויהי is consecutive to צוה). The prelude, therefore, gives a rapid sketch of the history of Israel from the Exodus to the establishment of the monarchy.

The blessings of the individual tribes follow. (The analogy of the others makes one suspect that some such heading as וזאת

ואמר לראובן, *And this he said of Reuben,* or simply ויאמר לראובן, *And he said of Reuben,* has been accidentally omitted.)

יחי ראובן ואל ימת *Let Reuben live on, let him not die out!*

ויהי מתי מספר : *But let him become a handful of men!*

In **M.**, the second line seems not quite correct in grammar; and the phrase מְתֵי מִסְפָּר (Gen. xxxiv, 30; Deut. iv, 27) favours מתי here in place of מתיו, *his men.* The line interprets the אל תותר of Gen. xlix, 4 as meaning *Become not abundant* or *numerous! Cf.* also Isa. x, 19. 𝔖 has the remarkable reading וידי מאתו מספר, *And let there be from him a number! Cf.* **G.**, *καὶ ἔστω πολὺς ἐν ἀριθηῷ*; and **A.**, which repeats the negative of the previous line. But as the tribe was only represented by a few families in the historical period, it is probable that the view we have taken is correct. Simeon is passed over altogether, because at the time of the writer this tribe had become entirely absorbed by Judah (*cf.* Josh. xix, 1–9, with 1 Sam. xxvii, 6; xxx, 30; 1 Kings xix, 3; and see BLEEK-WELLHAUSEN, *Einleitung*, p. 119). G^A drags him in, by giving him the second line of Reuben's couplet: *Καὶ Συμεὼν ἔστω πολὺς ἐν ἀριθμῷ.*

וזאת ליהודה ויאמר *And this of Judah. He said:*

שמע יהיה קול יהודה *Hear, Jahvah, Judah's cry,*
ואל עמו תביאנו *And to his people bring him!*
ידיך ריבה לו *With Thine hands strive for him,*
ועזר מצריו תהיה : *And a Help against his foes be Thou!*

ברך יהוה חילו *Bless, Jahvah, his valour,*
ופעל ידיו תרצה *And his enterprise favour Thou!*
מחץ מתנים קמיו *Crush the loins of his adversaries*
ומשנאיו מן יקומון : *And his enemies, that they rise not again!*

Contrast the long blessing of Judah in Gen. xlix. Not Judah but Joseph is the principal tribe in the present piece—a proof of its northern origin. In the second line, as GRAF was the first to perceive, the author very naturally prays for the reunion of the great

southern tribe with "his people," the Ten Tribes who constituted the mass of the Israelitish nation.

In the third line, I now follow the emendation ידיך ריב (see GESENIUS-BUHL[12]). **M.** ידיו רב לו, *With his hands he strove for himself* (not *for it*, which would be עליו or עליה, Gen. xxvi, 21) violates the parallelism.

KÖHLER's opinion that v. 11, now attached to the blessing of Levi, really belongs to that of Judah, seems very probable. A quatrain is too short measure for the actual importance of the latter tribe at all periods of Hebrew history. Besides, the verse does not agree with what is otherwise known about Levi; while it forms an excellent sequel to v. 7. Accidental transpositions are by no means unknown in the existing text of the Old Testament.

It is needless to read מתני with 𝔖 and the Versions (*cf.* Ps. iii, 8), but we substitute פן for the isolated מן with imperf. (𝔖 actually replaces מן יקומן by מי יקומנו, from Gen. xlix, 9).

And of Levi he said—according to **M.**, something which is neither clear in sense, nor correct in poetical form, however possible from the point of view of mere grammar. We propose to read :—

תן ללוי תמיך	*Grant unto Levi Thy Tummim,*
ואוריך לאיש חסדיך	*And Thy Urim to Thy beloved,*
שנסיתו במסה	*Whom Thou didst try at Massah,*
תריבהו על מי מריבה :	*For whom Thou strovest by the waters of Meribah :*
אמר לאביו לא ראיתיו	*Who said of his father, 'I have not seen him!'*
ואת אחיו לא הכיר	*And his brethren he disowned.*
כי שמרו אמרתך	*For they have kept Thy command,*
ובריתך ינצרו :	*And Thy covenant they observe ;*
יורו משפטיך ליעקב	*They teach Jacob Thy laws,*
ותורתך לישראל	*And Israel Thy torah ;*
ישימו קטורה לאפיך	*They set on the incense before Thee,*
וכליל על מזבחך :	*And the holocaust upon Thine altar.*

The correction of Stanza I is based on G., which has Δότε Λευεὶ δηλοὺς αὐτοῦ | Καὶ ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῷ ὁσίῳ. The אורים and תמים are possibly the affirmative and negative answers obtained by the priestly lot-throwing ; אור being connected with the Assyrian root איר, whence come *urtu*, *tertu*, *sending*, *message*, *bidding*, *oracle*, or perhaps rather with אמר (weakened to אור), *to bid*, while תמים may mean *prohibitions*, lit. *endings*, from תמם, *to come to an end* (Gen. xlvii, 18). Then, by a natural association, these terms came to denote the two lots themselves. The change of חסידך into חסדיך yields a more natural construction.

In Stanza II we have rejected ולאמו, *and of his mother*, as a marginal gloss which spoils the rhythm, not to mention that it ill accords with the suffix in ראיתיו. The term ואמך, *and of thy mother*, is similarly inserted by ⅏, G. in Gen. xlix, 26. We have also omitted the line ואת בניו לא ידע, *And his sons he knew not.* The fact of the other two stanzas being quatrains, is some slight presumption that the second was such also. Otherwise (and this, after all, is perhaps preferable) we might restore the Masoretic text of the verse somewhat thus :—

האמר לאביו לא אבי הוא	*Who said of his father, 'He is not my father!'*
ולאמו לא ראיתיה	*And of his mother, 'I have not seen her!'*
ואת אחיו לא הכיר	*And his brethren he owned not ;*
ואת בניו לא ידע	*And his sons he regarded not.*
כי שמרו אמרתך	*For they have kept Thy command,*
ובריתך ינצרו :	*And Thy covenant they observe.*

That adhesion to a Levitical or priestly guild involved, as we should say, renouncing the world, was natural enough. The ties of clan and kindred no longer existed for the man who was consecrated to Jahvah's service (*cf.* 1 Sam. i, 11, 22, 24, *sqq.*; ii, 18). This disregard of the claims of blood and friendship is illustrated by the story of Exod. xxxii (see especially, vv. 26–29), which belongs to the Elohistic or Ephraimitic section of the Hexateuch. *Cf.* also Luke xiv, 26.

In Stanza III, l. 3, we restore לאפיך, *before Thee* (1 Sam. xxv,

23), for באפך, *in Thy nostril.* G., S., J., read באפך, and render *in Thine anger*, doubtless a reminiscence of Num. xvi, 46, *sqq.*; but T. has קדמך and A. بين يديك, *before Thee.*

And of Benjamin he said (*leg.* ולבנימן, with ﷺ, G., S., J., A., prefixing ו as in all the other cases):

ידיד יהוה ישכן לבטח	*Jahvah's beloved shall dwell secure:*
חפף עליו כל היום	*He overshadoweth him all the day* (i.e., *alway*);
ובין כתפיו שכן:	*And betwixt his shoulders hath His dwelling.*

We have omitted עליו at the end of line 1, with ﷺ, G., S. It spoils both sense and rhythm, and is merely an accidental anticipation of the same term in the next line. The metre, which is the usual hexasyllabic, or perhaps rather triaccentual rhythm, may be further improved by restoring בטח (Prov. i, 33) and יום without the article (Ps. cxl, 3). With the metaphorical חפף, *cf.* the use of חֻפָּה in Isa. iv, 5. The phrase (l. 3) בין כתפיו (= upon his back, 1 Sam. xvii, 6) refers to the Temple-site on Mount Zion; כתף denoting hill-side or slope (Josh. xv, 8, 10): *cf.* שכם, *shoulder*, in Gen. xlviii, 22.

The oracle about Joseph is mainly a paraphrastic adaptation of the easier half of the older utterance (Gen. xlix, 25, 26), only the closing stanza being entirely original.

וליוסף אמר	*And of Joseph he said:*
מברכת יהוה ארצו	*Blessed of Jahvah be his land*
ממגד שמים ממעל	*With the bounty of heaven above,*
וממגד תהום רבצת תחת	*And with the bounty of the deep that coucheth beneath,*
וממגד תבואת שמש	*And with the bounteous harvests of the sun,*
וממגד גרש ירחים	*And with the bounteous increase of the moons;*
ומראשית הררי קדם	*And with the choicest yield of the ancient mountains,*

וממגד גבעות עולם	*And with the bounty of the eternal hills;*
וממגד ארץ ומלאה	*And with the bounty of earth and her fulness,*
ורצון שכני סנה	*And the goodwill of Him who haunted the Bush;*
תבואנה לראש יוסף	*Let (all) come to the head of Joseph,*
ולקדקד נזיר אחיו:	*And to the crown of the hated of his brothers!*
בכור שור הדר לו	*He is stately as the firstling of an ox,*
וקרני ראם קרניו	*And the horns of the wild-ox are his:*
בהם עמים ינגח	*With them let him butt the peoples,*
יחד עד אפסי ארץ	*And thrust them to the ends of earth!*
(הם רבבות אפרים	(*They are Ephraim's myriads,*
והם אלפי מנשה:)	*Yea, they are Manasseh's thousands.*)

In l. 1 **G.** ἐπ' (*leg.* ἀπ' with G^{AF}) εὐλογίας, pointing מִבְּרָכַת, rather unintelligently. In line 2 ἀπὸ ὡ ρ ῶ ν οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐρόσου, perhaps reading מעד, *season*, for the Aramaism מגד, *gift, boon, fruit* (so also in ll. 4, 8; *cf.* Num. ix, 2, καθ' ὥραν = במועדו). We read ממעל for מטל of **M.** and **G.**, which spoils the antithesis with תחת, l. 3: see Gen. xlix, 25. In l. 3 **M.** has ומתהום; but *cf.* the preceding and following lines (also Gen. xlix, 25). The bold personification of תהום (Babylonian *Tiâmat*) as couchant, like a beast of prey, under the earth, is misunderstood by **G.**, which has: καὶ ἀπὸ ἀβύσσων πηγῶν κάτωθεν. Possibly πηγῶν represents a bad guess מַבָּעֹת (= מִבְּעִים) for רבצת; but it may be only a paraphrase, like ἀπὸ συνόδων μηνῶν, *And from conjunctions of months, i.e.*, perhaps the monthly conjunctions of the sun and moon, l. 5. Of course, parallelism requires a meaning for גרש corresponding to that of תבואת in the former line. According to **BARTH**, the root גרש = جشر which is used of the dawn *going forth*; גרש therefore is *what springs forth*; *cf.* جشر, *herbs* or *leguminous plants of the*

autumn and spring: see LANE. גרש ירחים will thus be *monthly growth* or *produce*, probably of the pastures, as תבואת שמש are the *annualcrops* or harvest of cereals. But the entire couplet is strange, as an interpretation of the single line ברכת שדים ורחם, *Blessings* (*i.e.* gifts) *of the breasts and womb*, Gen. xlix, 25. Considering that ירחים—anciently written ירחם—closely resembles ורחם, and that a half-effaced שדים might have suggested שמש, it seems likely that the poet's MS. of his model was imperfect at this point, and that he had to guess at the text of Gen. xlix, much as we have to do in dealing with his own piece.

The only way of escaping this assumption is to suppose that the תבואות שמש and the גרש ירחים denote *births* (*cf.* Gen. xviii, 10, בעת חיה); but this is unlikely in face of the ordinary use of תבואה.

As regards the next couplet, the model passage (Gen. xlix, 26[a]) has ברכת, *blessings* (*i.e.*, gifts, Gen. xxxiii, 11), where the imitation has ראש; and the former has תאות (תַּאֲוֹת?) *things desired* (*cf.* Gen. iii, 6), where the latter has מגד, *largess*, *boon*, or *bounty*. But everywhere else in the present passage מגד is the equivalent of ברכת. It thus appears (1) that the parallel terms of the original are transposed in the copy; (2) that ברכת, which was assumed to be corrupted from מרום in my paper on Gen. xlix, probably stood in the MS. which lay before the later poet; (3) that if תאות was really parallel to ברכת in the original text of Gen. xlix, it must, after all, have meant *objects of desire*, *prizes*, and not *peaks*, *hill-tops;* and (4) that ראש in the present passage should probably be ראשית, *best products*, *prime yield* (*cf. Assyr. rišîtu*, said of wine, dates, etc.). However, ראש הרים might be either *the highest* or *the chief of the mountains* (Isa. ii, 2); and our couplet may once have run

ומראש הררי קדם *And with the highest of the ancient mountains,*

וממרם גבעות עולם *And with the loftiest of the eternal hills;*

The fertile hills of Ephraim being considered a special "blessing" or gift from God to the country, as they were at once its glory and its defence. G. has ἀπὸ κορυφῆς in both lines; which suggests

מקדקד instead of ממגד as the parallel to מראש: *cf.* the Talmudic phrase שבא מקדקדו של מדבר, *who cometh from the top of the wilderness.*

There is no counterpart to the next couplet in Gen. xlix, 25, 26.

In l. 10, **M.** תבואתה seems to be an error of transcription for תבואנה. The model passage, Gen. xlix, 26, with which this otherwise agrees word for word, has תהיין, which is synomymous. So **G.** ἐλθοισαν. BARTH has ingeniously argued for a root תבא = Assyr. *tibû*, and considers תבואתה a perf. 3 fem. sing., like נפלאתה, 2 Sam. i, 26. But the evidence of **G.**, **T.**, **S.**, **J.** and the parallel passage is against a perf.; and both here and in 1 Sam. xxv, 34; Job xxii, 21, the forms are plainly corrupt. (May not the anomalous תבואתה be due to amalgamation of תבוא' with a marginal תה', that is, תהיינה? Possibly only תבוא, *let it come*, originally stood here.)

In **M.**, the first line of the concluding stanza runs: בכור שורו הדר לו, *The firstling of his ox hath stateliness;* but this does not suit the context, which requires a reference to Joseph himself: see the parallel stichus, *And the horns of a wild ox are his.* ⎓ שור, omitting the suffix; and so **G.**, πρωτότοκος ταύρου τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῦ, *The firstling of a bull—such is his beauty!* **S.**, **J.**, also rightly omit the suffix.

In **M.**, the next couplet appears thus: בהם עמים ינגח יחדו אפסי ארץ, *With them he butteth the peoples together—the ends of the earth;* which is incoherent as well as unmetrical. The corruption is older than **G.**; but rhythm and sense are easily restored by reading ידחה, or rather וידח, and taking in עד from **G.** (ἕως ἐπ' ἄκρου γῆς), **T.**, **S.**, **J.** With the sense, *cf.* Zedekiah's prophecy to Ahab before the battle of Ramoth-Gilead (1 Kings xxii, 11): "With these (iron horns) shalt thou butt the Syrians."

> *They* (*i.e.*, the horns) *are Ephraim's myriads,*
> *And they are Manasseh's thousands.*

This explanatory distich may be an early interpolation. It certainly weakens the effect of the spirited lines which precede it (**M.**, והם in l. 1; but ⎓ **G.**, **S.**, **J.**, הם rightly, no doubt).

ולזבולן אמר	*And of Zebulun he said:*
שמח זבולן בְּצֵאתֶיךָ	*Rejoice, O Zebulun, in thy galleys,*
ויששכר באהליך	*And Issachar in thy tents!*
עמים הרה קראו	*The clans to the mountain call ye;*
שם יזבחו זבחי צדק	*There let them offer duteous offerings!*
כי שפע ימים יינקו	*For they suck the abundance of the sea,*
וימצו טמוני חול	*And drain the treasures of the shore.*

In l. 1 the received reading is בְּצֵאתֶךָ, *in Thy going forth;* which might refer either to warlike expeditions (1 Sam. viii, 20; Amos v, 3), or to trading voyages by sea. The parallel passage in Gen. xlix, 13 suggests the latter sense. It also suggests the change in the points which we have adopted. *Ships* are evidently a better contrast to *tents* than an abstract term like *going forth.* It is true that צֵאת (for צִיּוֹת = ציים, Isa. xxxiii, 21; Dan. xi, 30)—*cf.* בציאתך, in one MS. of ⅏—adds another to the isolated expressions of the poem; but that is hardly an insuperable objection. If it be felt so, we may restore בצייך, or even the term used in Gen. xlix, 13, באניתיך. The imitation or paraphrase of the older passage is evident also in the closing couplet (ימים and חול = חוף); as well as in the contrast between Zebulun's seafaring activity and the preference of his fellow-tribe for a home-life of quiet ease (Gen. xxv, 27, ישב אהלים, of Jacob). Issachar's inertia is not, however, made a reproach as in the more ancient poem.

In l. 3 we have substituted הָרָה קְרָאוּ for M. הר יקראו. Though the change is not absolutely necessary, it seems to improve the sense. The holy hill, whither the two neighbour-tribes repair to worship, is not Zion, as T. naturally understands, but probably Carmel by the sea, where Elijah offered his memorable sacrifice (*cf.* the next couplet), or else Tabor. G. ἔθνη ἐξολεθρεύσουσιν = עמים הרישו; which shows that הרה was not understood. ⅏ too reads הרי; doubtless because ה and י are often confused in the old writing.

In my paper on Gen. xlix, I showed that the last line may refer partly to the wealth gained by dealing in the famous purple dye of the Phœnician shore, and noted an undesigned coincidence in the name of the leading clan of Issachar, viz. תולע (Gen. xlvi, 13), which is the word for the purple fish, and purple robes (Isa. i, 18;

Lam. iv, 5). But the Hebrew of **M.**, ושפני טמוני חול, is not quite satisfactory. The ἅπ. λεγ. שָׁפַנִי seems to be explained by the commoner טמוני; but what we really desiderate is a verb parallel to יינקו. ושפכו, *and shall pour out* or *heap up*, resembles ושפני; but וימצו, *and press out, drink dry*, agrees better with the context. (**G.**, καὶ ἐμπόρια παράλιον κατοικούντων = וטמוני שְׁבָנִי חוף; *cf.* Gen. xlix, 13, Ζαβουλὼν παράλιος κατοικήσει. Thus **G.** understood a reference to maritime trade in our passage.)

ולגד אמר	*And of Gad he said:*
ברוך מרחיב גד	*Blessed be He who broadeneth the bounds of Gad!*
כַּלביא שכן	*Like the lioness he settled down;*
טרף זרוע אף קדקד	*He mangled arm and head.*
וירא ראשית ארץ לו	*And he chose him the first-fruits of the land;*
כי שם חלקת מחקק	*For there was the leader's lot.*
ויתא בראש העם	*And he came as the people's head:*
צדקת יהוה עשה	*Jahvah's righteous acts he wrought,*
ומשפטיו עם ישראל :	*And His judgments with Israel.*

Cf. The half-poetical fragment about the Gadite warriors who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Chron. xii, 8: ופני אריה פניהם וכצבאים על ההרים למהר, *Their looks were those of the lion, And like deer on the hills were they for speed;* as also what is said of Judah, Gen. xlix, 9.

In l. 2 we have pointed כַּלביא, to the advantage of the rhythm. In l. 3, ⁂ reads טרף instead of וטרף, and so, apparently, **G.** (συντρίψας). *Cf.* DRIVER, *Tenses*, chap. ix, *The Perfect with Weak Waw.*

The next lines appear thus in **M.** and **G.** respectively:

וירא ראשית לו	Καὶ ἴδεν ἀπαρχὴν αὐτοῦ
כי שם חלקת מחקק ספון	Ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐμερίσθη γῇ ἀρχόντων
ויתא ראשי עם	Συνηγμένων ἅμα ἀρχηγοῖς λαῶν
צדקת יהוה עשה	Δικαιοσύνην Κύριος ἐποίησεν
ומשפטיו עם ישראל :	Καὶ κρίσιν αὐτοῦ μετὰ Ἰσραήλ.

The redundancy of the rhythm brings suspicion on the second line; and, apart from the question of rhythm, no translation that can be suggested commends itself to an unfettered judgment. The notion of the Targums and Rashi, accepted by EWALD and DIESTEL, that מחקק ספון is *the hidden* (*i.e.* buried) *Lawgiver*, meaning Moses (Deut. xxxiv, 6), is very surprising in the context, and utterly preposterous on the supposition that the words are spoken by Moses himself. The rendering in GESENIUS–BUHL[12]: Er sah dass dort ein Führerteil aufbewahrt sei, *He saw that a leader's portion was there reserved*, ignores the division of the stichi. Both take ספון (*pannelled;* 1 Kings, vii, 7; Hag. i, 4) as equivalent to צפון. There can be no question whatever that **M.** is unsound. The second line of **G.** seems to imply כי שם חלקה ארץ מחקקים; and as ראשית requires a defining genitive, we transfer ארץ to l. 1; thus getting the more satisfactory distich—

And he chose him the first-fruits of the land,
For there was the leader's lot.

The historical allusion is to the circumstance related in Num. xxxii; Deut. iii, 12, etc. The benê Gad chose the land on the east of Jordan, which, as the first to be conquered, might be called the first-fruits of the whole country; and the tribe had a right to this first choice, as having been foremost in the strife, according to the character ascribed to its warriors, 1 Chron. xii, 8 (*cf.* also the episode, 1 Chron. v, 19–22).

The third line in **G.**—*συνηγμένων ἅμα ἀρχηγοῖς λαῶν*—possibly indicates the Hebrew ויתאספון (עם) ראשי עמ(ים); *cf.* v. 5[b], *supra*, where בהתאסף ראשי עם is rendered *συναχθέντων ἀρχόντων λαῶν*. Thus **G.** will have either read or conjectured ויתאספון for the meaningless ספון ויתא of **M.**, as another member of this Society, Dr. HAYMAN, has pointed out in a paper which I have not had the good fortune to see. Perhaps, however, what the version of **G.** really presupposes is rather בהתאסף עם ראשי עם, the ן of ספון being a vestige of the ם of the particle עם. In that case, the line certainly resembles an interpolation, based on v. 5[b]. At all events, it does not well cohere with what precedes and follows it, whichever correction we adopt. But if we reject ספון (= צפון) as a gloss on שם, which was misread by the glossator שָׁם or שָׂם,

laid up, and restore בראש in place of ראשי, we at least get a sense which agrees with the context and with the history; for the tribe of Gad, after having demanded for its own territory the first-fruits of conquest (which was the leader's natural domain for the further reason that it was exposed to the brunt of hostile attack from without, as being the borderland),

> *. . wrought Jahvah's righteous deeds,*
> *And His decrees with Israel:*

that is to say, like Dan according to the parallel passage, Gen. xlix, 16, Gad was a champion of Israel's rights, which he nobly vindicated against the national enemies. This he did in the first instance, by passing over the Jordan at the head of the other tribes to the conquest of Canaan (Num. xxxii, 17, *sqq.*, and parallel passages. For צדקת rather than צדקת, see Judges v, 11). The construction ויתא בראש (העם, ; עמים, "the clans," or "tribes"? **G.**) is like בחזק יבוא, Isa. xl, 10; *cf.* also Ex. vi, 3.

ולדן אמר	*And of Dan he said:*
דן גור אריה	*Dan is the lion's whelp;*
יזנק מן הבשן	*Making his spring from Bashan.*

In the first line, what the older poet had said of Judah is said of Dan. In the second, as I pointed out before, reference is made to Laish, the northern settlement of the tribe; and as *laish* is one of the Hebrew terms for lion (Job iv, 11), there seems to be an allusion to the local name; an allusion which would prove, if proof were otherwise wanting, that the distich cannot have been written before the conquest of Laish by the Danites (Judges xviii). ... **G.** read ויזנק in l. 2.

ולנפתלי אמר	*And of Naphtali he said:*
נפתלי שבע רצון	*Naphtali, be sated with favour,*
ומלא ברכת יהוה	*And be full of Jahvah's blessing!*
(ים ודרום ירש:)	(*The lake and the south (of it) he shall possess.*)

The general sense of the utterance corresponds with that of Naphtali's distich in Gen. xlix. The third line seems to be an

early interpolation, like the one in Gen. xlix, 13. It is a somewhat prosaic geographical determination, and as such unique in the entire poem. The lake is, of course, Cinneroth or Gennesaret (*cf.* Josh. xix, 34 ; 1 Kings xv, 20), as **T.** renders (ים גינוסר).

In l. 3 יירש is the reading of ⅏, as also of **G.**, **S.**, **T.**, **J.** The received Heb. text is ירשה, *possess thou!* but the precative form of the imperative seems inappropriate here.

In l. 1, **G.** rather absurdly pronounced שֹׂבַע πλησμονή, instead of שָׂבַע, which might be either an imperative, or *stat. constr.* of the verbal adj. שָׂבֵעַ. In l. 2, **M.** points מָלֵא, but מְלָא *imperat.* seems preferable. **A.** has *imperat.* in all three lines.

ולאשר אמר	*And of Asher he said:*
ברוך מבנים אשר	*Most blessed of sons be Asher!*
יהי רצוי אחיו	*Let him be the favoured of his brothers!*
וטבל בשמן רגלו :	*And let him dip his foot in oil!*

The verse turns on the idea that אשר means *the Happy, Fortunate*, Μακάριος; *cf.* Leah's utterance at his birth (Gen. xxx, 13), and Jacob's (Gen. xlix, 20), with which this opening triplet agrees in sense.

G. renders l. 2: Καὶ ἔσται δεκτὸς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ, and similarly **S.**, **T.**, **J.**; *cf.* Esth. x, 3, where Mordecai is said to have been רצוי לרב אחיו, *popular with the mass of his brethren.*

In l. 3 we point וְטַבַּל instead of וְטָבַל. **G.** βάψει suggests יטבל. For the sense, we may recall what is said of Judah in Gen. xlix.:

> *He shall tether his ass colt to the vine . . .*
> *He shall wash his apparel in wine.*

As the fruit of the vine in Judah, so the yield of the olive in Asher is to be so plenteous that it may be used for the commonest purposes, such as bathing the feet, or perhaps trodden under foot as a thing of no account. Most likely, however, the reference is simply to the soil itself, which is so rich that to walk on it is like wading in oil (*cf.* Deut. xxxii, 13; Job xxix, 6). The term רגלו suggests

an allusion to אֶשֶׁר, *step*, and thus another possible play on the name אשר.

The next couplet (v. 25) is very obscure, owing to corruption of the text. **M.** runs :—

ברזל ונחשת מִנְעָלֶךָ *Iron and bronze thy* min'ál ;
וכימיך דָּבְאֶךָ : *And as thy days thy* dóbè.

Neither *min'ál* nor *dóbè* occurs elsewhere. **G.** (*τὸ ὑπόδημα αὐτοῦ*) **S.** (ܣܡܡܢܐ), **J.** (*calceamentum ejus*), connect מנעל with נעל, *sandal*. But iron and bronze are more usually spoken of in connection with bars and doors (*e.g.*, Ps. cvii, 16 ; Isa. xlv, 2) ; and it is easy to read מַנְעָלֶיךָ, *thy bolts*, or מַנְעָלָיו, *his bolts* (Cant. v, 5 ; Neh. iii, 3–6). This is supported by **A.** (مغاليقك, *thy locks*) and by $\mathfrak{m}^{T}$ (מצנקך, *thy bars*). The next line must correspond, even at the sacrifice of the beautiful but not parallel sentiment, *And as thy days so shall thy strength be*, which we find in **G.**, **S.** (and practically in **A.**, **T.**). These Versions took דבאך to mean *thy strength*, perhaps reading or guessing מְאֹדֶךָ. **J.**, *Sicut dies juventutis tuae, ita et senectus tua*, seems to depend on **T.** וכיומי עולמותך תקפך, *And as the days of thy youth thy strength* (*shall be*) ; מנעלך, in the former line, having suggested מנעריך, *from thy youth*, to the Targumist. דבא has no discoverable kindred in the cognate languages, unless we may compare the Assyrian 𒁀𒁍 𒌨 *dibbu*, a synonym of *daltu*, "door" (2 R., xxiii, 3, *cd.*). But the reading of $\mathfrak{m}$ is רביך, an easy corruption of בדיך, *thy bars* (Job xvii, 16). *Iron and bronze thy bolts* | *And . . . . thy bars :* what is to take the place of כימיך ? In default of anything better, we suggest כשמיר (Jer. xvii, 1 ; Ezek. iii, 9), and read :

ברזל ונחשת מַנְעָלָיו *Iron and bronze be his bolts,*
וכשמיר בדיו : *And like adamant his bars !*

For the second line, other possible emendations occur, *e.g.*, וברחיו אתן, *And his bars eternal* (*cf.* Num. xxiv, 21, איתן מושבך ; Neh. iii, 3, מנעוליו ובריחיו). Whatever be thought of either of these two suggestions, the context and general usage demand some such sense, which is appropriate also to Asher's position, reaching

northwards to the very gates of the land of Israel, of which the tribe might very naturally be conceived as warder.

We have come to the concluding strophe; a spirited address to Israel, felicitating the nation on its prosperity and security through the favour of Jahvah.

אין כָּאֵל יְשֻׁרוּן	*There is none like El, O Jeshurun!*
רֹכֵב שָׁמַיִם בְּעֶזְרֶךָ	*Who rideth heaven as thy Helper,*
וּבְגַאֲוָתוֹ שְׁחָקִים.	*And the clouds as thine Exalter.*
מִמְעַל אֱלֹהֵי קֶדֶם	*Above was the God of old,*
וּמִתַּחַת זְרֹעֹת עוֹלָם	*And beneath were the Arms eternal:*
וַיְגָרֶשׁ מִפָּנֶיךָ אוֹיֵב	*He drove out the foe before thee,*
וַיֹּאמֶר הַשְׁמֵד.	*He bade (thee) 'Destroy!'*
וַיִּשְׁכֹּן יִשְׂרָאֵל בֶּטַח	*So Israel dwelt secure—*
בָּדָד עַם יַעֲקֹב	*Alone the folk of Jacob;*
עַל אֶרֶץ דָּגָן וְתִירוֹשׁ	*In a land of corn and wine—*
אַף שָׁמַיִם יַעַרְפוּ טָל.	*Yea, the heavens drop dew.*
אַשְׁרֶיךָ מִי כָמוֹךָ	*O happy! who is thy peer?*
עַם נוֹשַׁע בַּיהוָה	*Thou people saved by Jahvah,*
מָגֵן עֶזְרֶךָ	*Who is the Shield of thine help,*
וַאֲשֶׁר חֶרֶב גַּאֲוָתֶךָ	*And the Sword of thine exaltation;*
וְיִכָּחֲשׁוּ אֹיְבֶיךָ לָךְ	*So that thy foes fawn upon thee,*
וְאַתָּה עַל בָּמוֹתֵימוֹ תִּדְרֹךְ.	*And thou—thou walkest on their high-places.*

In l. 1, **G.**, **J.**, **S.**, **T.**, **A.**, imply the pointing לָבָא (*like the God of Jeshurun; cf.*, Ps. xxix, 3; xciv, 1); but the sequel favours **M.** In l. 3 we read בגאותך instead of בגאותו, as the parallelism seems to demand; *cf.* lines 14, 15, where עזר and גאוה are again parallel terms. In l. 4, מעל or rather ממעל, *above*, must be restored in place of מענה, *dwelling, haunt* (of God; Ps. lxxvi, 3), *lair* (of wild beasts; Amos iii, 4), as the parallel expression מתחת indicates (ממעל should also be read for מֵעָל, Gen. xxvii, 39; xlix, 25; see GESENIUS BUHL[12], p. 574). *Cf.* **J.**: *Habitaculum ejus*

sursum. Et subter brachia sempiterna; which shows that the need of the antithetical term was felt. G., καὶ σκεπάσει σε, apparently guessing מענן from ענן, in the sense of *overshadowing with clouds.* KUENEN'S

A place of refuge is the God of old,
And the stretching out of the eternal arms.

(pointing מִתַּחַת, from מתח, *ausspannen*, Isa. xl, 22) is ingenious but not convincing. With the phrase זרעת עולם, *cf.* Gen. xlix, 24, מזרעי עזר ישראל, *By the arms of the Helper of Israel.*

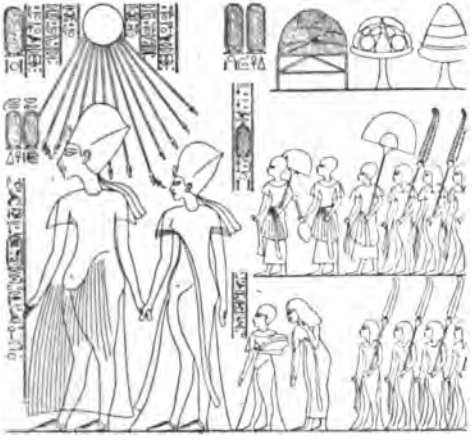
In l. 9, עם, *people*, for עין, *fountain*, is an easy and natural correction, as in several other O.T. passages. בדד is joined with בטח as in Ps. iv, 9. In l. 10, **M.**, אל for על; a common clerical error. **G.** has ἐπὶ γῆς, transferred to the preceding line.

In l. 11 we substitute שמים for שמיו, *his heavens*, which is unique; although שמיך, *thy heavens*, occurs Deut. xxviii, 23, and elsewhere, and 𝔖 has it here.

As it stands in **M**, the final hexastich is defective, both metrically and in point of grammatical construction. We have omitted ישראל after אשריך as an interpolation. 𝔖 has הנושע for נושע; and in the last line, במותם for במותימו. In **M.**, l. 15 begins ואשר חרב; but as the preceding line is too short, we have transferred the relative particle אשר (pronounced שֶׁ) to that place. ROBERTSON SMITH rendered lines 14, 15 "Whose help is the shield, whose pride is the sword" (*Prophets*, p. 119); but *cf.* lines 2, 3; Ps. xxxiii, 20; cxv, 9, 10, 11. In l. 16 **M.** points וַיְכַחֲשׁוּ; and perhaps Ps. xviii, 45; lxvi, 3, &c., should be pointed so, rather than as Pi'el (*cf.* 2 Sam. xxii, 45, Hithpa'el). In the last line **G.** may be right with ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτῶν = על צוארם, giving the sense, *And thou—thou treadest on their neck* (Josh. x, 24): yet *cf.* Deut. xxxii, 13; Hab. iii, 19.

It is evident that this ancient poem, which we have now examined with some care, neither has nor makes any claim to be the work of Moses. We may go further, and say that the anonymous author, so far from personating Moses, as he might have done without reproach, had he chosen to make the great Lawgiver the mouthpiece of his sentiments, plainly refers to Moses (v. 4) as a hero of

the far-off past, in the brief retrospect of Israel's history which forms the prelude to his poem. No secret is made of the fact that the writer lived at a period later than that of the Judges (v. 22; *cf.* Judg. xviii); later than that of the first institution of the monarchy (v. 5); later than the building of the Temple at Jerusalem (v. 12); later even than the division of the kingdom (v. 7). In contrast with Gen. xlix, Joseph, not Judah, is here the predominant figure, a fact which indicates that the author belonged to the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. This is further confirmed by the occasional Aramaisms of the piece, as also by the aspiration for the reunion of Judah with Israel (v. 7). The Temple of Jerusalem, though mentioned with special distinction (v. 12), is not the only lawful place of sacrificial worship. The tribes of Zebulun and Issachar have their own holy mountain, where they offer grateful dues to Jahvah (v. 19). The poet everywhere evinces an enthusiastic confidence in Jahvah's protection of His people; and is wholly unconscious of any national disloyalty to the national God. His utterances thus stand in conspicuous contrast to those of the poet of ch. xxxii, and to those of the great prophets of Judah. He probably lived in the prosperous times of Jeroboam II, in the first half of the eighth century B.C. What is said of Judah, v. 7 [v. 11], need not at all imply that the fortunes of the tribe were at a low ebb, but rather that it was engaged in vigorous warfare (see 2 Chron. xxvi and xxvii), upon which the northern poet looked with a friendly eye and good wishes for the success of a kindred people.



SOME REMARKS ON THE SEPULCHRAL FIGURES USUALLY CALLED USHABTI.

By E. TOWRY WHYTE, M.A., F.S.A.

The word *ushabti*, which is translated as meaning "Respondant"(?), or the one who answers, is generally applied to the small figures of mummies found in the tombs, either placed in wooden boxes or merely laid on the floor. Sometimes they were placed inside the sarcophagus or coffin, and in the tomb of Horuta, a priest of the XXVIth dynasty, found by Dr. Petrie, there were 399 built up in rows in the wall; but this method of depositing them is unusual, if not unique. They are frequently found in great numbers all together, as for instance nearly 700 were found in the tomb of Seti I; many of them inscribed with his name and titles. The wealthy classes nearly always had a large number deposited with them in their tombs, and even the every poorest managed usually to get some buried with them. As might be expected, the *ushabti* exhibit great variety of manufacture: those for the wealthy being often beautifully finished and decorated; whilst those for the lower class are frequently almost shapeless lumps of clay or wood. They are found both with and without inscriptions. Sometimes the inscribed and uninscribed are found together. When inscribed, it is sometimes merely with the name and titles of the deceased, sometimes adding his or her mother's name—seldom the father's name—and when so done only in late times. Others have in addition to the name and titles a full or more or less abbreviated version of the 6th chapter of the "Ritual of the Dead." They are also found with a blank space which has been left for the name but never filled in. The inscriptions are in hieroglyphics, hieratic, and demotic, this last being of very late date. A word *shaba* is found in the early texts of the 6th chapter, and Profes or Mariette in his "Catalogue d'Abydos," p. 46,

gives a VIth dynasty form of this chapter. Although the word is not the same as the later *ushabti*, it seems to refer to something allied to the funeral figures; but from the absence of any of these mummy shaped figures at that early date, it would almost seem that it must have had some other meaning, and a question has arise in my mind as to whether it is altogether certain that the figures are *the ushabti* or respondants; but the term is almost universally accepted and applied to such figures, and is moreover a convenient method of alluding to them. These *ushabti* are supposed to do the work allotted to the deceased in the lower world; in fact they are practically his servants or substitutes, and if this is so, it looks very like a survival of an ancient tradition of the times when the slaves were sacrificed to accompany their masters to the underworld. I venture to make this statement with considerable hesitation, as I know that such an eminent authority as Mr. Le Page Renouf holds that there is no trace of such a custom amongst the ancient Egyptians; also the lack of such figures in the earlier burials is a very strong point against its being a survival. May they occupy a dual position,* or can they have had any connection with the burial rites of "The New Race" of Dr. Petrie?

Ushabtis are found made in stone—granite, steatite, both glazed and unglazed limestone, and alabaster; the latter belong mostly to the XXth dynasty, though XVIIIth and XIXth dynasty ones exist: in wood—accacia, sycamore and ebony: in porcelain (so called), and terra-cotta, also in wax; none have been found in metal.

The earliest known may perhaps be of the XIth dynasty, but this is doubtful. The early ones are made of granite, wood or limestone, the latter being the commonest; clay ones do not seem to have been made before the end of the XVIIIth dynasty. The early ones generally have the hands crossed over the breasts, sometimes covered over with bandages; they do not hold anything in their hands as those of the later times do; they have the name and titles of the deceased usually inscribed in a vertical column down the front; and sometimes in the XIIIth dynasty a scarab with outspread wings is inscribed on the breast. These early *ushabti* are not

* Mr. Renouf informs me that the statuettes represent not *slaves* (as has been suggested), but the departed worthy, as is proved by the inscription , *N.* "*this is the Osiris N.*, for such is the meaning of the words, not *Says the Osiris.*"

common; as far as I know no XVth or XVIth dynasty *ushabtis* are known; none have yet been found with the name of any known king or official of those times, and I think this remark also applies to those that are supposed to be XIIth and XIIIth dynasty ones. In the XVIIIth dynasty they are found made of stone and wood as in the earlier times; also in this dynasty glazed and unglazed pottery begins to appear, the colours of the glaze being a blue-green, a brown, and a red. In the earlier part of this dynasty the hands are folded across the breast, and do not carry any instruments. The inscriptions are usually short, and in a vertical line down the front, giving simply the name and titles. But they are also found running in horizontal lines, and with the VIth Chapter of the Ritual. Towards the end of the dynasty the hoe and mattock, or two hoes, one in each hand, first appear; also the figures are sometimes represented not as mummies but as wearing the costume they wore during life; but if Dr. Budge is correct in the date he assigns to the female figure No. 9447D, which he thinks is XVIIth dynasty, this is a revival of a former custom. The *ushabtis* both of this and the XIXth dynasty seem frequently to have a trace of attempt at portraiture; at any rate, the faces are much more life-like than later ones, and do not have the set type of features which afterwards became the conventional portrait of Osiris. In both dynasties the figures are often very beautifully decorated with collars, &c., and the wooden ones are sometimes covered with a very fine, golden coloured, transparent glaze made from some kind of gum. I have noticed traces of this gum in the inscriptions on granite *ushabti*. One of the largest figures I have seen belongs to the XVIIIth dynasty probably. It is beautifully carved in hard dark wood, perhaps ebony; the eyes and eyebrows are of glass, and the beard is platted. It has a horizontal and two vertical lines of hieroglyphics in front, with the VIth Chapter of the Ritual. Its height is sixteen inches, and is enclosed in a plain wooden coffin, which is eighteen inches high. It was made for a high official of Thebes; but a few have been found which are three feet or more in height, according to Messrs. Perrot and Chipiez. In the XIXth dynasty porcelain ones, with a very fine blue glaze, were made, the colour being a light cobalt of remarkable brilliancy, as, for instance, those made for Seti I. A darker blue, but not so clear, was also made; those with a white glaze ground with decorations and inscriptions in purple, and many of those with red slip hands and faces

belong to this dynasty. They are much rarer than either the stone or wooden ones. The rare Hapi or Bull *ushabtis* all belong to this dynasty, according to Mariette, who found them in the Serapeum. They are glazed blue or dull green. The XXth dynasty ones are generally squarer in form than those of the earlier dynasties, and often they are most carelessly finished; in fact, frequently they are almost shapeless, and these are not always of the poorer class of burials. In this dynasty a hoe is carried in each hand, and a basket over the shoulder. The XXIst dynasty is remarkable for the very beautiful bright blue *ushabtis* which were found in great numbers at Deir-el-Bahari; the colour is different to the blue of the XIXth dynasty, being much deeper. These all belong to one time, or very nearly so, eleven different names being found on them, mostly relations. They date from about B.C. 1040 to B.C. 1000. The XXIInd dynasty also produced bright blue ones, but they are not quite such a good colour as the preceding dynasty. In neither case was the modelling well done, they evidently trusted to the colour for effect. The hieroglyphics are written on the blue in a bright black ink, and fired on. No *ushabtis* of the XXIIIrd, XXIVth, or XXVth dynasty are known. In the XXVIth dynasty there seems to have been a great revival in art, in which the *ushabti* shared. Glazed porcelain is almost universally employed, and great numbers are found most beautifully finished. The figure stands on a square pedestal, with an upright plinth behind. They have been made in moulds, and in many cases the inscriptions are very well cut, and the whole figure has been gone over with a modelling tool. They carry in each hand a hoe or mattock, and always have the seed basket over their shoulder. Their colour is usually a light bluish-green. Some of the largest porcelain ones known belong to this dynasty, being those of Horuta, discovered by Dr. Petrie, some of which are ten and a half inches high. No XXVIIth dynasty, or Persian, ones are known, and it is improbable that any of the high officials, who were most likely foreigners, used them, nor are any of the XXVIIIth or XXIXth dynasty known. The XXXth dynasty ones are poor in colour, and small; they retain the pedestal and plinth. The glaze is usually a dull green. No XXXIst or XXXIInd dynasty are known. After the XXVIth dynasty the figure was sometimes placed in a model coffin, which was painted with figures of the four genii of the Amenti, or with various deities connected with the burial rites. They also had inscrip-

tions. These inscriptions are usually in hieratic or demotic, and are often almost illegible; these probably date, according to some authorities, from B.C. 500 to B.C. 300, which about covers the period between the end of the XXVIth dynasty and the beginning of the Ptolemies, but if they do not belong to the XXXth dynasty of the Nectanebo's, I should have thought they might have been assigned a somewhat later date, and put most of them down as of Ptolemaïc manufacture.* The Ptolemaïc *ushabtis* are generally very poor both in workmanship and glaze, though in some there is a good cobalt-blue glaze used; they are frequently uninscribed, but when so done the inscription runs in one or two vertical columns down the front, the hieroglyphics being often most carelessly formed; or they are written in a brownish-black ink, and frequently in hieratic. The wooden ones made at this time are heavily coated with bitumen, on which almost illegible characters are written in white;† it would seem that the belief in the necessity of such things had almost died out, and many of those made very likely belonged to the lower classes, who no doubt would retain the ancient religious ideas long after the upper classes had to a great extent abandoned them owing to the intercourse with the Greeks. The figures certainly did not keep pace with the georgeous ornamentation used on the coffins of this time, they being remarkable for their ugliness. The Roman *ushabtis* are still worse, and finally the Osiris form was abandoned, and the figures had the head of a monkey instead; no inscription were placed on these figures, which are very rare, and, I may add, very ugly.‡

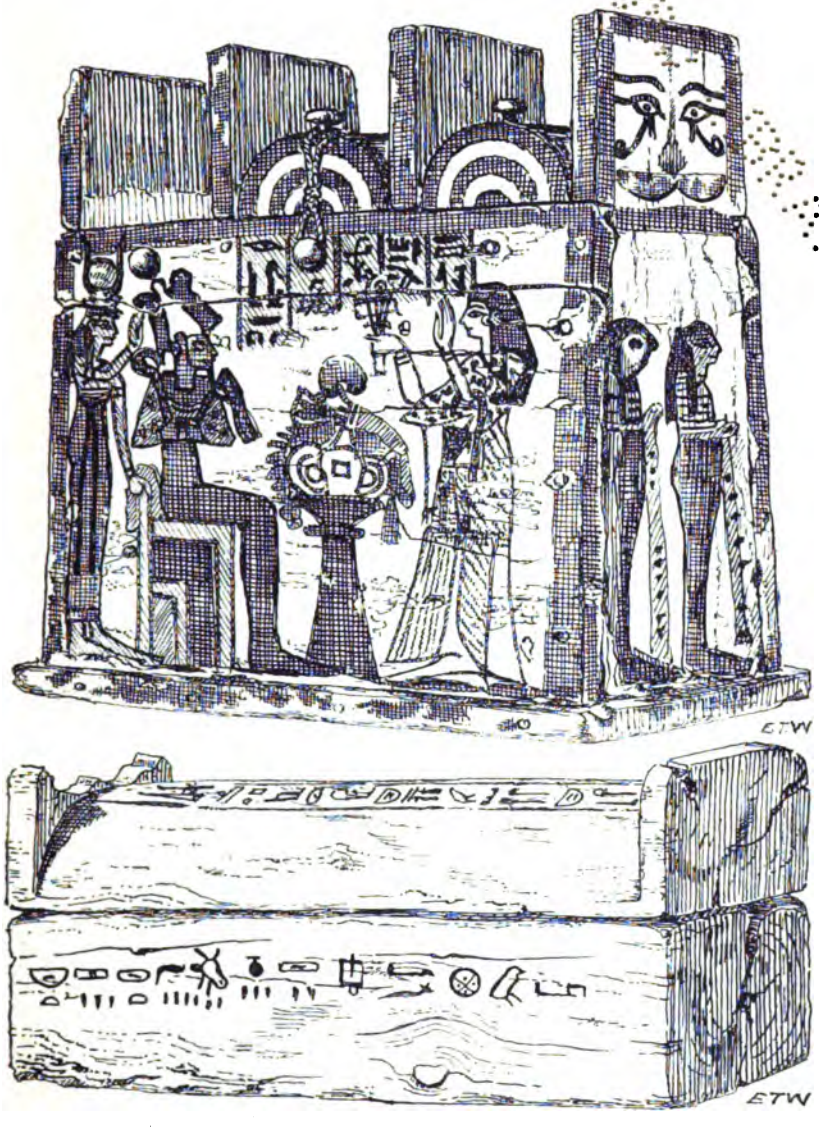
A translation of the 6th chapter of the "Ritual of the Dead," by Mr. Renouf, is given in the *Proceedings*, vol. xiv, p. 273. Observations on *ushabtis* have been made by Dr. Birch in *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1864, pp. 89–103, and in 1865, pp. 4–20; Mariette's "Catalogue des Monuments d'Abydos," pp. 46–48. The three forms of this chapter will be found in Loret, "Recueil de Travaux," vol. IV, pp. 90, 91; V, p. 70; and in Dr. Budge's book, "The Mummy," page 212, with a translation.

* Some of these decorated coffins are known to be of earlier date.

† But by some these black ones are nearly all put down to a date between B.C. 400–300.

‡ In the Greek and Roman times the name was preserved by writing it on a slip of papyrus, or on a wooden ticket, which was tied on to the mummy: this took the place of the *ushabti*.

PLATE I.



WOODEN SHABTI BOXES.

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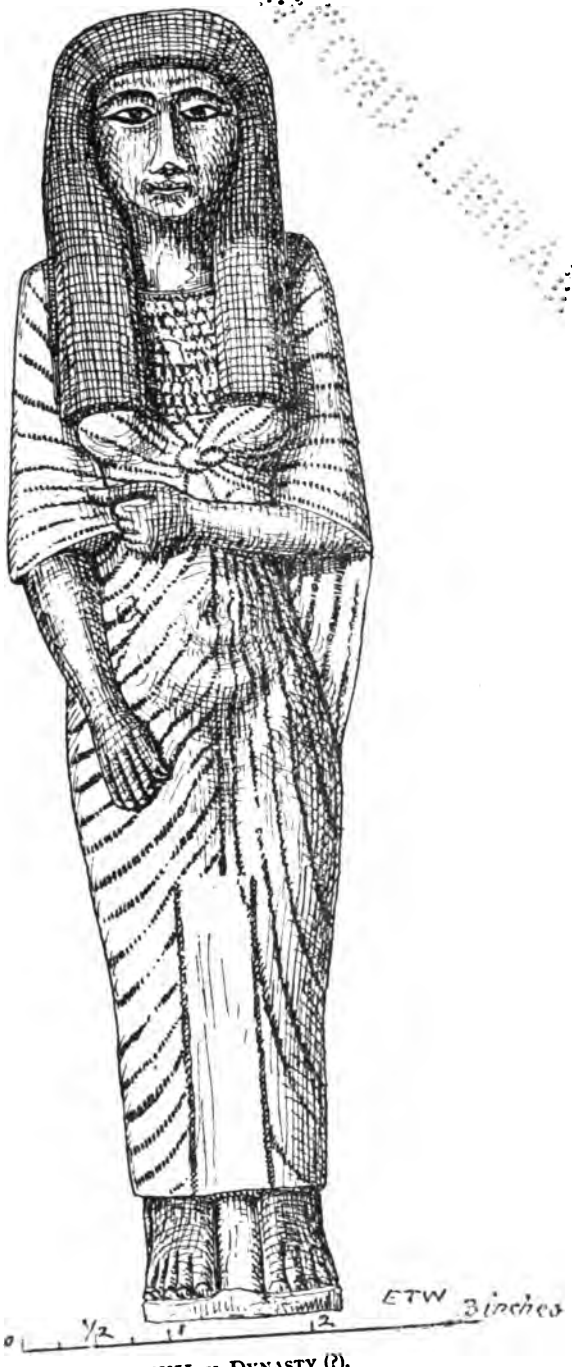
PLATE II.



XVIIth Dynasty (?).

Withdrawn from Stock
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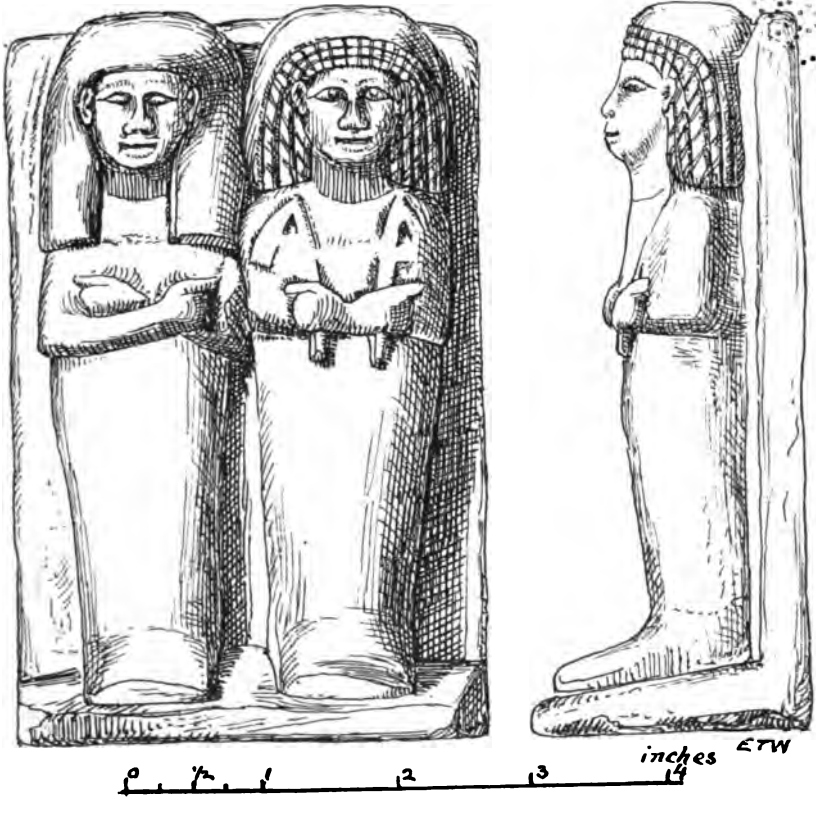
PLATE III.

XVIIIth Dynasty.

Withdrawn from Queen's University

PLATE IV.



XVIIIth Dynasty.

CANADIAN GOVERNMENT

PLATE V

XIXTH DYNASTY.

Zaidi Collection

PLATE VI.

XIXTH DYNASTY.

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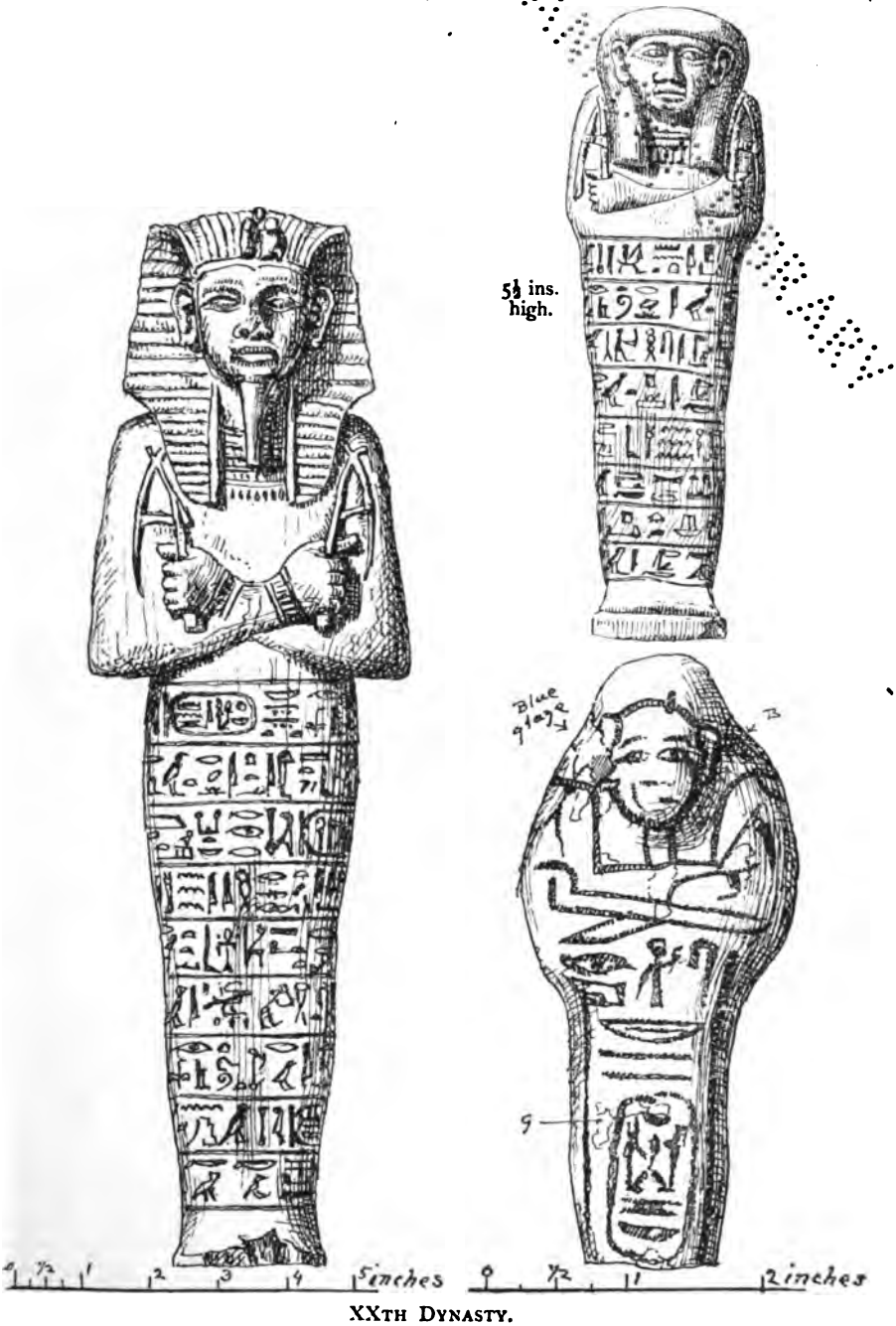
PLATE VII.



XXTH DYNASTY.

Original Document

PLATE VIII.

XXVIth Dynasty.

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PLATE IX.

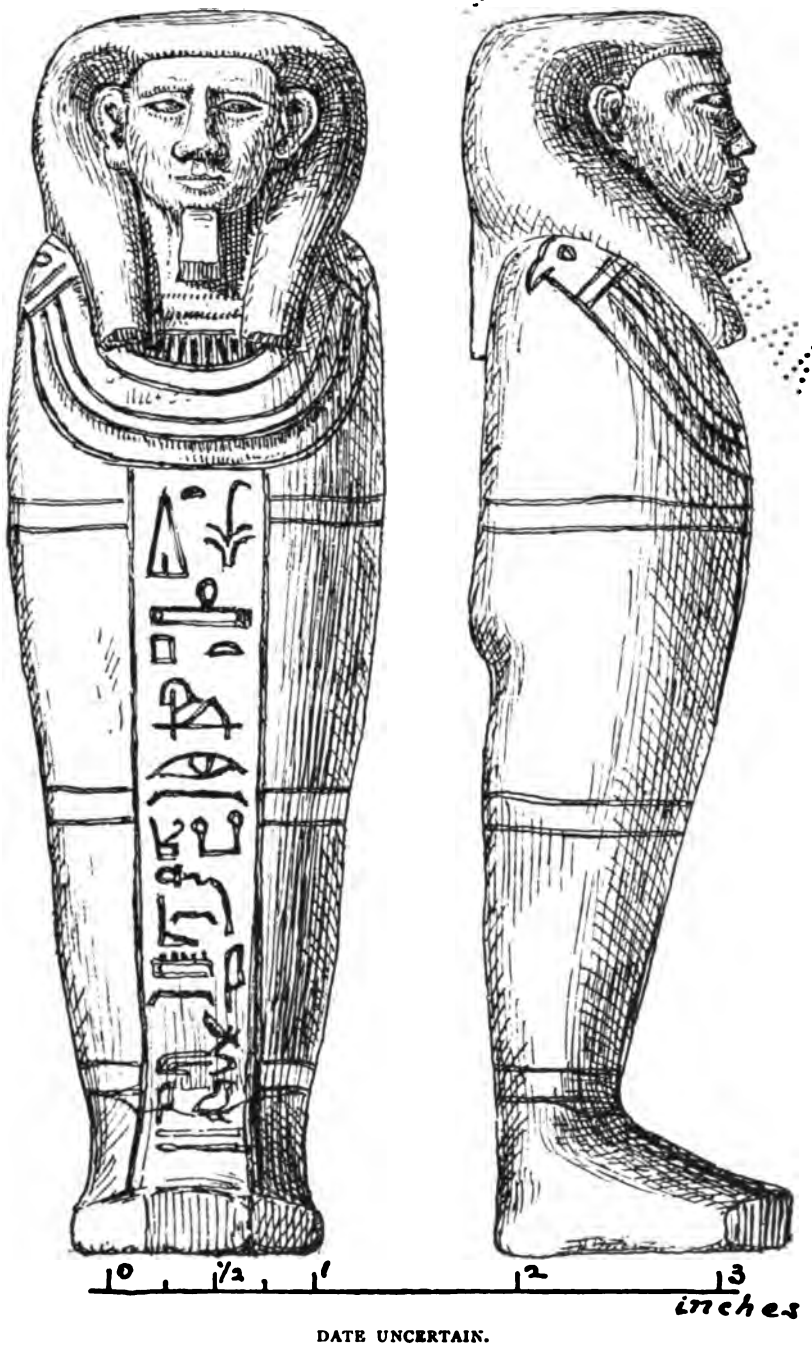

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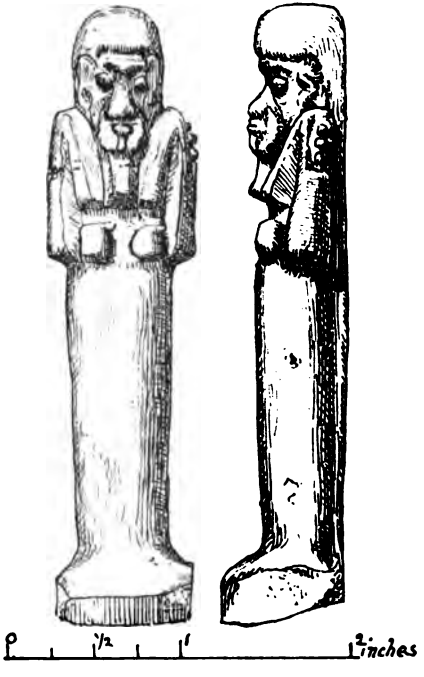
PLATE X.

XIXTH DYNASTY.



ROMAN.

PTOLEMAIC.

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DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

PLATE I. The upper drawing shows the ordinary form of a wooden ushabti box. This particular case, which belongs to myself, has lost its covers, but I have shown the usual form of these covers with the method of securing them to the box. These boxes vary in size, and of course in the style of the decorations, but this one is a fair average specimen. The colours used are red, which I have lined ||||; a lighter red ////; green ⊞; yellow ochre \\\\; the ground is white; it was made for "a singer of Åmen, Ta-neb-ma," and is probably of the XIXth or XXth dynasty. Its size is: length of base 11½ inches, width of base 5¾ inches, total height 11¼ inches; the wood is sycamore. Sometimes these boxes were made with one compartment only, in which case, whilst retaining the height and width, they were only one-third of the length. The other box shown is likewise of sycamore, and was formerly painted white, with the hieroglyphics in black. Most of the white paint has got rubbed off, but the black is still very clear. Its length is 8 inches, width 2⅝ inches, and total height 4⅛ inches. The inside contains an almost shapeless bit of wood meant for a ushabti; it is laid on some coarse mummy cloth; it has a *suten-ta-ḥotep* inscription on the lid, and is a late specimen, probably Ptolemaïc. It is in the British Museum, No. 16,005. I have not given an illustration of the more decorated coffin-shaped boxes, as they, in all respects, resemble miniature coffins, and without a coloured drawing would not convey much idea of what they look like.

PLATE II. This is an extremely beautiful ushabti of a female. The name is wanting, having never been put on. The figure is made of a fine-grained limestone, painted; the dress white, with red lines; the face, arms, and feet red, and glazed over with a gum. The wig is black; the collar red and black lines on a yellow ground. It is supposed to belong to the XVIIth dynasty, but this is doubtful,

there being nothing except the style of the figure and the position of the hands to judge by. It is remarkable for displaying the contour of the figure, much more than is usual in ushabtis; even if not of the XVIIth dynasty, it is undoubtedly an early one.

PLATE III. The smaller of these two is made of limestone, painted, the body white, the wig and inscription black, the collar, which is very elaborate, is red and black alternating. It is the ordinary mummy form of the XVIIIth dynasty; the hands are folded across the breast, but hold nothing; the face appears to be an attempt at portraiture; it was made for Har-em-nâ. The other is made of accacia, and is a specimen of those ushabtis in which the deceased is represented as wearing his ordinary costume. In this case also the hands are crossed, but hold nothing. The inscription down the apron is painted in black on a yellow ground; it was made for a scribe named Hara; it is in the British Museum, No. 8,595, and is also of the XVIIIth dynasty.

PLATE IV. It is unusual to find double ushabtis. In this case a man and his wife are represented side by side. It is made of limestone, formerly painted red all over. I think, remains of a darker red are still on the faces and hands; the wigs were black; the style of execution is coarse. Dr. Budge thought it dated from the XVth to XVIIth dynasty, but I think it cannot be earlier than the latter part of the XVIIIth dynasty, as the man holds a hoe in each hand. Unfortunately there is no inscription to help one. It is in the British Museum, No. 8,894.

PLATE V. This magnificent ushabti is made of a light-coloured friable clay, not strictly porcelain, although often so called in alluding to Egyptian faience. It is covered with a very beautiful light cobalt-coloured glaze, with black lines and hieroglyphics. It can have been no easy matter to make so large an article in solid pottery without twisting or spoiling. It was made for Seti, the great king of the XIXth dynasty, whose sarcophagus is in the Soane Museum, and whose body is at Gezeh, being one of those recovered in the Deir el Bahari find. This figure carries a hoe in each hand; the one in the left hand is interesting, as clearly showing how in actual tools the bronze tips were put on to the wood frames. He wears the royal head-dress with a uræus on the forehead, which, in this case, has unfortunately been broken off. The tail extends some distance down the back of the headdress. The inscription is the usual VIth chapter of the Ritual, with the king's nomen and pre-

nomen. Over the left shoulder he carries a peculiar shaped seed bag. It is in the British Museum, No. 22,818, and came from Biban-el-Molook.

PLATE VI. The large figure is made of accacia, and is very finely carved. It is also partly coloured, the eyes, wig, and tools being black; the collar has been gilt, most of which has gone. The face is red, probably the hands were the same. The hieroglyphics are incised, and were filled in with white; the bar incised and painted black, extending from each hand to the elbow, is unusual. It was made for a man named Pasheti, and is of the XIXth dynasty. It is in the British Museum, 67, 8-12, 453, from the Blacas Collection. The other one is of dark steatite, and has been coated with a yellow gum. The name has never been filled in. The wig is different to the others I have illustrated, having plaited curls on each side. He also wears a short beard. Over the heart the soul, in the form of a human-headed bird, is hovering. He carries a hoe in each hand, and over the left shoulder a seed bag similar to that carried by Seti. In addition is another object occasionally found, but varying in form: it resembles some sort of bottles on a yoke, but whether intended to be such is doubtful. This figure is also probably of the XIXth dynasty, and is in the British Museum, No. 8,711.

PLATE VII. The largest ushabti is made of accacia; it was made for Rameses VI. The head-dress is similar to that worn by Seti but with a double uræi. He wears a long artificial beard, the strap for fixing it on being plainly indicated. The carving is inferior to that of Pasheti in finish. There are no traces of colour. It belongs to the XXth dynasty, and is in the British Museum, No. 8,570. The next in size at the top of the page is a porcelain one made for a *cher heb* named Pet-âmen-apt, and is the ordinary type of this dynasty. He carries two hoes, and has a seed bag over the left shoulder. The inscription, which is incised, is the VIth chapter of the Ritual. The one below is of white alabaster, almost shapeless, with no attempt at carving. The outlines of the face, wig, and hands, also the inscription, are black; and there are traces of a blue glaze on the head-dress, and green glaze on the body. It was made for Rameses V, of the XXth dynasty, a king about which very little is known. He is believed to have been a usurper by some. It is in the British Museum, No. 8,699, and came from Biban-el-Molook. It is a type of ushabti often found in this dynasty.

The XXIst and XXIInd dynasty ushabtis I have not illustrated,

as the porcelain ones entirely depend upon colour for their effect, and I have not been able to find any stone or wooden ones that are of that date for certain.

PLATE VIII. This is a specimen of an average XXVIth dynasty ushabti. It is made of green glazed porcelain (so called). The greenish glaze is the usual one used in this dynasty, but sometimes a fine blue is used instead. He wears a long plaited beard, and carries a hoe in either hand and a seed bag over the left shoulder. This ushabti was made for a *mer-suten-na* named Psamtik.

PLATE IX. This very curious ushabti is, as far as I known, unique. It is also impossible to date, except that it is earlier than the XXVIth dynasty. It is made of a fine grained limestone. The bands and inscription retain traces of gilding. The face and ears are gilded. The wig has been blue; the collar red and blue. It has a *suten-ta-ḥotep* inscription to the *ka* of Auâ. It is in the British Museum, No. 24,390.

PLATE X. The first is a bull ushabti. Marriette says they date from the XIXth dynasty, and were found by him in the Serapeum. It is glazed a dull green—some are blue—and is made of porcelain (so called). Note that the hands are replaced by hoofs. The manufacture is coarse. The next one has on it an old label describing it as an ape-faced ushabti, which I think is correct. It is of porcelain, with a dull green glaze of very poor colour. The style of workmanship is very rough. It is very late indeed, probably Roman. The third is also porcelain, with a dark green glaze. It is Ptolemaïc, probably about B.C. 200. It was made for a man named Tes-necht, and gives both his father and mother's name, a sure sign of being of late work.

The next Meeting of the Society will be holden at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 5th May, 1896, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

REV. C. J. BALL, "The First Chapter of Genesis and the Babylonian Cosmogonies."

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION, 1896.

Fourth Meeting, 5th May, 1896.

REV. JAMES MARSHALL, M.A.,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From F. D. Mocatta, F.S.A. (*Vice-President*) :—Un Nécropole Royal à Sidon fouilles de Hamdy Bey. Par O. Hamdy Bey et Théodore Reinach. Paris. Folio. 1896.

From Rev. R. Gwynne :—Arabic Grammar, by the late William Wright, LL.D. Third edition. Edited by De Goeje. Vol. I. Cambridge, 1896.

From the Author, H. Martin Kennard :—The Veil Lifted ; a new Light on the World's History. 8vo. London, 1896.

From the Author, Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch :—Das Babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos, No. II. Leipzig. 8vo. 1896.

From the Author, Dr. Ignazio Guidi :—Il "Gadla 'Aragâwî." Folio. Rome. 1895. (Reali Accad. dei Lincei. Anno ccxci. 1894.)

From the Author, D. Mallet :—Quelques Monuments égyptiens du Musée d'Athènes. Folio. Paris. 1896. (Recueil de Travaux, Vol. XVIII.)

From the Author, Dr. O. v. Lemm:—Nachtrag zu den "Koptischen Fragmenten zur Patriarchengeschichte Alexandriens." Folio. St. Petersburg. 1896. (Bulletin de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences, T. IV, No. 2.)

From the Author:—Über die Poesie in der Volkssprache der Nestorianer, von Eduard Sachau. Berlin. 8vo. 1896. (Akad. der Wissenschaften, Vol. XI.)

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the last Meeting, held on the 3rd March, 1896:—

F. L. Gardner, Buxton House, Chiswick.

F. W. Gilbertson, Clanrhyd, Swansea Vale.

William Eugene Gregson, Moor Lane, Great Crosby, W. Liverpool.

William Peek, F.R.A.S., F.R S.E., City Astronomer, Observatory House, Calton Hill, Edinburgh.

Rev. Herbert Lavallin Puxley, Catton Rectory, Stamford Bridge, York.

Rev. Lonsdale Ragg, M.A., Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon College, Wheatley, Oxon.

Rev. James Blunt Wilkinson, M.A., 5, Orme Square, Bayswater.

The following Candidate was nominated for election at the next Meeting on June the 2nd:—

Miss Elizabeth S. Colton, Easthampton, Mass., U.S.A.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:—

The Edinburgh Public Library, Hew Morrison, F.S.A. Scot., Librarian.

A Paper was read by the Rev. C. J. Ball: "The First Chapter of Genesis and the Babylonian Cosmogonies."

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY SIR P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

CHAPTER CXXVI.

Oh ye four Harbingers (1) who sit at the prow of the Bark of Rā, and convey the fixed ordinances (2) of the Inviolate One, ye who are judges of my distress (3) and of my good fortune, and propitiate the gods with the flames from your mouths: ye who present to the gods their oblations and the sacrificial meals to the Glorified: ye who live through Maāt and are sated with Maāt: who have nothing wrong in you and execrate that which is disordered, (4) do ye put an end to my ills and remove that which is disorderly in me through my being smitten to the earth. (5)

Grant that I may penetrate into the Ammehit and enter into Restau; and that I may pass through the mysterious portals of Amenta.

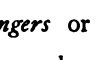
Be there given to me the Shensu cakes and the Persen cakes [and all things] even as to the Glorified, who make their appearance on entering into Restau or on coming forth. (6)

Enter thou, Osiris *N.* We put an end to thine ills, and we remove that which is disorderly in thee through thy being smitten to the earth. We put away from thee all the ills which thou hast. Enter thou into Restau and pass through the mysterious portals of Amenta. Enter thou in and come forth at thy pleasure, like the Glorified ones; and be thou invoked each day in the Mount of Glory. (7)

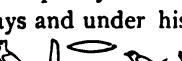
NOTES.

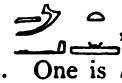
In the older papyri the vignette of this chapter is unaccompanied by any text. The only exception as yet known is that of the papyrus *Ab*, of the XVIIIth dynasty. The text is also found in the tomb of Rameses VI, with the important addition of the answer made by the four *Harbingers* to the prayer of the deceased. This addition

is retained in all the later recensions. Other discrepancies between the two texts lead to the conclusion that even the older one has suffered from interpolation.

1. *Harbingers* or *Saluters*,  . See Chapter 5, Note 5, for an explanation of the name of those Apes who salute* the Daybreak. Here *four* only are spoken of, and this was probably the original number, corresponding to the four portals of the Mount of Glory. The number *eight* (the Chemunnu) is more easy to explain than *six*, which is the number stated in the text quoted from the tomb of Rameses VI.

2. *Fixed ordinances*, ; θέμιστες in the different acceptations of that word.

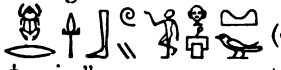
3. *Distress*, . "Te semper anteit saeva *necessitas*," Horace says to Fortuna. The determinative and the Coptic ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ evidently point to the notion of *constraint*, but the few texts in which the word is found imply *want*, *need* (*angustiæ*, ἀνάγκη),† rather than captivity. Amenemhat at Benihassan (tomb 2) boasts that in his days and under his government no one was seen "in distress (), or starving." And Horus at Edfu (Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, pl. XXII) is said to protect the *needy* or *distressed* ( ) against the powerful. This is an honour already claimed by Antuf on his tablet (Louvre, C. 26, line 17), who mentions the *maâru* as being an object of interest to him, like the orphan and the widow.

4. *Disordered*, , is the absence of  , strict *order*, and always spoken of as in opposition to it. One is κόσμος and the other is οὐ κατὰ κόσμον, and may be predicated of whatever is contrary to rule, faulty, defective, out of line, deformed, or disfigured, not only in a moral but in a purely physical sense.

, *ill*, does not mean *wickedness* or *sin*, but simply physical

* The Gothic *Hana* (the Cock), German *Hahn* and our *Hen* signify the *Singer*, and are words cognate to the Latin *can-ere*. The Latin *Gallus* is probably related to our *call*.

† The Greek language would furnish an interesting parallel to the Egyptian if it could be shown that δέω, *bind*, and δέω, *want, need*, had the same root. But the latter was originally δέϝω.

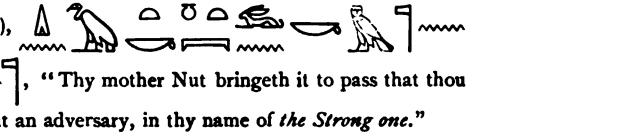
evil, mischief, pain or sorrow. There are many texts to prove this, but perhaps the most interesting is the great text at Dendera (Mariette, *Denderah*, IV, pl. 73, or Dümichen, *Rec.*, III, pl. 96), where Osiris is invoked at Apu (Panopolis) as the fiery Bull, hiding (or scarcely seen) on the day of the New Moon . . . . , but at length rising into full strength,* and seeing the Golden Horus fixed upon the throne of the universe.  (continues the text), "Joy cometh round after† pain," or sorrow; most certainly, not after *sin*.

The meaning of , which governs the noun, has been explained (Chapter 40, Note 6) as *stopping, bringing to an end;* not *destroying*, and still less *forgiving*.

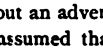
5. *Through my being* [or *because I am*] *smitten to the earth* .

in this position, without a suffix or nominal subject, is not an auxiliary verb, but a particle of correlation, used when a cause, motive, or circumstance is asserted or implied in connection with a preceding statement.

Like all such particles, of which the function was originally only deictic, it is susceptible of very many shades of meaning, and it would be impossible in this place to do justice to a word so frequently occurring, especially in the hieratic papyri of a secular character.

* Such is the real meaning of , not only in this place, but in the extremely ancient text found on many sarcophagi and already in the Pyramid Texts (see Pepi I, 33),  , "Thy mother Nut bringeth it to pass that thou risest into full strength, without an adversary, in thy name of *the Strong one*."

In this translation it is assumed that the second is the negative , as it was always understood in later times (see for an instance *Zeitschr.*, 1869, p. 51, and the beautiful text of Bakenrenf, *Denkm.*, III, 263).

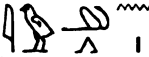
The true meaning of  is not simply 'this god' but 'the Strong one, ὁ Ἰσχύων. is the 'Strong and Beautiful;' is אֵל שַׁדַּי, ὁ Παντοκράτωρ.

† That is, 'succeedeth.'

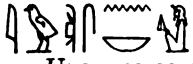
The following examples are only intended to illustrate its *grammatical* use in our text.

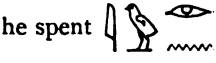
The particle occurs three times before as many propositions at the beginning of Chapter 123; 'I have balanced the divine Pair,' 'I have put a stop, *etc.*,' 'I have ended their complaints;' connects each of these statements with the preceding one, 'I am Thoth.' It is as if the speaker said, '*It is in consequence of* my being Thoth, that I have balanced,' *etc.*

In Chapter 36, 'I am the bearer of the divine words' is followed by , 'and *so it comes that* I make the report.'

In Chapter 15, line 7, 'I am one of those who honoured thee upon earth' is followed by  ..... "let me *therefore* attain to the Land of eternity."

Aahmes, the son of Abana, says in his inscription (line 5) that he was young and unwedded, "*and so* I continued to wear" a certain dress.

Amenemheb was, he tell us (*Zeitchr.*, 1873, p. 3), high in the favour of the King, "*and so it comes that* I followed my Lord  ."

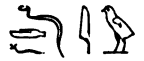
Una was sent by his sovereign on a certain mission, and the negro chieftains of certain districts furnished the wood for his purpose, "*and so it came to pass that* he spent  a year in this wise.

After *verba dicendi* corresponds to our *as how*, *comme quoi*, or the *quod* or *quia* of late Latinity. It often needs no more translation than the Greek ὅτι in such a relation.

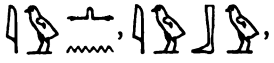
In the inscription of Pianchi (line 2) one came to tell his Majesty "*that* (*comme quoi*) a prince [or magnate] had started up " and seized upon a part of the kingdom.

most certainly does not mean 'est, est,' any more than it means 'Dominus meus mortuus est.'

Nebuaiu (*Zeitschr.*, 1876, p. 5) in the time of Thothmes III "says, *as how* 'I have presided over many constructions.'"

The Naophoros of the Vatican in like manner  "says *that* 'I made a petition'" to Cambyses.

Long before this Chnumhotep of Benihassan begins his biography (line 14) "his mouth, it says *as how* 'his Majesty appointed me' to the dignity of *Erpā ḥā*."

The absence of Verbal character becomes especially apparent in such combinations as  .

6. The older texts finish here. What follows in the translation is taken from the later recensions. It is the reply made by the four Harbingers to the prayer addressed to them.

7. *Mount of Glory* . This is the real meaning of the word, and there is no reason why we should continue to use the misleading term *horizon*.

CHAPTER CXXVII.

The Book (1) *for invoking the gods of the Bounds*, (2) *which the person reciteth when he approacheth them, that he may enter and see the Strong one* (3) *in the Great Abode of the Tuat.*

Hail, ye gods of the Bounds, who are in Amenta.

Hail, ye Doorkeepers of the Tuat, who guard this Strong one, and who bring the reports before Osiris; ye who protect them who worship you, and who annihilate the adversaries of Rā: who give light and put away your darkness: ye who see and extol your Great one, who live even as he liveth, and invoke him who is in his Solar disk.

Guide me, and let the gates of Heaven, Earth, and the Tuat be opened to me.

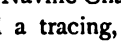
I am the Soul of Osiris and rest in him.

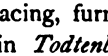
Let me pass through the Gateways, and let them raise acclamation when they see me.

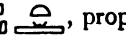
Let me enter as I will, and come forth at my pleasure, and make my way without there being found any defect or any evil attaching to me.

NOTES.

The text which has been followed in the translation of this chapter is that of the Royal Tombs of Rameses IV and Rameses VI, called by M. Naville Chapter 127 A. The lost Busca papyrus, of which Lepsius had a tracing, furnishes a different text, (127 B), and the text of the Turin *Todtenbuch* has been enlarged by means of numerous interpolations. M. Naville has called attention to the close relationship between this chapter and the second part of the "Solar Litany."

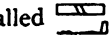
1. *Book*  , properly a *Roll;* a title given to several of the chapters (125, 127, 129, 130, 140, 141, 142 and 148 in the Turin *Todtenbuch*), instead of the usual . Too much importance should not be attached to the difference of terms. This chapter is called by the Busca papyrus; and Chapter 125, which is called in the earliest texts containing it whenever a title is given, is called ever since the time of Rameses IV.

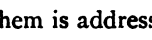
2. *Bounds*,  , in the dual form, though is not unfrequent, here and in other places. The English word is not a translation of the Egyptian one, which has to be explained before any equivalent for it can be proposed. And the explanation of it has to be sought in the 'Solar Litany,' first completely published by M. Naville.

There we find the Sun-god Rā invoked as a Power *pouring itself forth* or *overflowing* * in 75 *forms* and the *forms* in 75 . Each of these divine *forms*  has its own as a dwelling-place, to which however it is not confined.

The seventy-five Forms in question (each of which is a god) are,

* M. Naville leaves this word untranslated, though he rightly conjectures it to be the origin of ϫⲱϣ *effundere, effusio, infundere, immergere.*

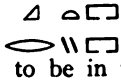
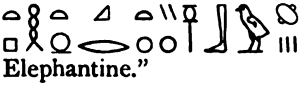
 at chapter 64, 23, is undoubtedly the *overflowing*, or *outpouring*. There are the reduplicated Coptic forms ϭⲉϥϭϥ and ϭⲉϥϭⲱϥ; and ϭⲉϥⲉ, a name of the *goose*, has its origin in , and has the same sense etymologically as the Latin *mergus*.

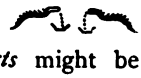
as the text itself shows, simply so many names of the Solar god or solar phenomena. Each of them is addressed as  , 'Rā, supreme of power,' after which some attribute of the deity is mentioned, and the name of the deity is connected with this attribute.

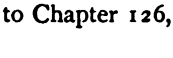
In Greece, Apollo was called ἑκηβόλος, καταιβάσιος, ἀποτροπαῖος, νεομήνιος, and by ever so many other names expressive of the attributes with which he was credited. These names correspond to what Egyptian mythology called the of a god, and each of the names has but a limited application. The god is not always thought of as 'Far-darting'; under the conception of 'Neomenios,' he *dwells* in what Egyptian mythology called another , which is the local habitation, or, as mathematicians would say, the *locus* of the concept.

M. de Rougé, without giving any reason, but probably guided by what Champollion had written, translates the word *zone*. M. Naville, who has carefully studied the word, prefers *sphere*. And no better word could be thought of, if we used it as we do in speaking of 'moving in a certain sphere,' 'each in his own sphere,' or, 'the sphere of action;' without applying a strict geometrical sense to the word. For the Egyptian was a hollow cylinder like a round tower, a chimney, or a deep well rather than a sphere.

With the explanation I have just given, I prefer *Bounds* as a more expressive translation. The word appears in the dual form on account of the presence of the god.

The name  was given to the fabulous Source of the Nile, supposed to be in the neighbourhood of Elephantine. The inscription of Seti I at Redesieh (*Denkm.*, III, 140B) compares the abundance of water at the King's cistern to that of the  "the cavern of the Double Well of Elephantine."

In the later orthography the word is written or  It has been supposed that the Coptic ⲕⲟⲣⲓ *cataracts* might be connected with the old Egyptian name. But the history of the Coptic word is not sufficiently known to justify any inferences.

3. *The Strong one*,  , the name of Osiris. See footnote to Chapter 126, Note 4.

THE NUDE GODDESS IN ASSYRIO-BABYLONIAN ART.

ECCLESBORNE, KEW,
May 7th, 1896.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

M. Salomon Reinach in a recent article, entitled "Les Déeses nues dans l'art oriental et dans l'art Grec,"* endeavours to prove from a supposed absence of early representations of an unclothed female form, "that the type of a nude goddess is absolutely strange to archaic Assyrio-Babylonian art," and "que la Déesse nue des Cylindres est une statue importée."

He then proceeds to suggest that the nude goddess of late Babylonian and Assyrian art is a type which reached Mesopotamia from the "Ægean," that is to say, from the Pelasgi, and probably did not obtain currency in the East until about 2000 B.C. Finally, he declares his view emphatically to be, "that the figure of an unclothed goddess could never have been transmitted to Greece by the old civilisations of Asia Minor."

In the elaboration of his thesis M. Reinach admits that among other savants MM. Lenormant, Heuzey, and Menant áre opposed to his views; especially the latter, who, among many other cylinders described by him, speaks of one in M. de Clerc's collection as "Une déesse nue debout," beneath her an animal, perhaps "a dog." M. Reinach, very properly I think, suggests a lion, but then proceeds to utilise the scene on this cylinder for his hypothesis, upon the ground that we only know of *one* type of a nude female, upon a lion, in oriental art: that of the deity at Kadesh, "an Amorite or Hittite city of comparatively late date which had come under Egyptian influence."

* *Revue Archéologique*, 1895, p. 370.

There are various reasons which should cause Orientalists to hesitate before accepting M. Reinach's novel theory, but beyond these there is one fact apparently absolutely fatal to it.

This is that we have an extremely archaic cylinder which, as many authors have held to be the case, precisely proves the presence in Chaldean iconography of a nude goddess. The cylinder was first figured and described by Dr. Hayes Ward (see sketch), and in regard to its age he says, "We have in the cylinder one of the precious early examples of Babylonian art when mythological designs were in the formative period; when full pictures were made, and the artist's originality had not yet been reduced to conventual signs and hints." It seems likely that students familiar with cylinders will agree with Dr. Ward, and so M. Reinach's proposal to change our views will fail. It is singular that Dr. Ward argues that the goddess is Zarpanit, the same whom Lenormant tells us was represented nude and originated the nudity of Greek art.

Yours sincerely,

J. OFFORD, Junr.

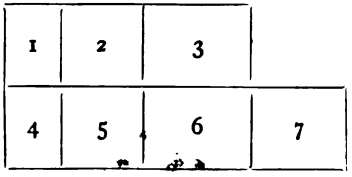
BAS-RELIEFS DE TIGLAT-PILESER III.

Par ALFRED BOISSIER.

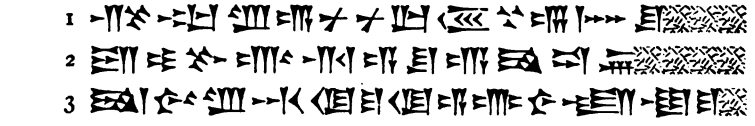
Le Musée de la Société des Antiquaires de Zürich installé dans le " Helmhaus " possède un certain nombre de monuments assyriens d'une réelle valeur. La plupart d'entre eux sont déjà connus par les savants travaux de MM. Oppert, Schrader, Grivel, et Delitzsch. Parmi les beaux bas-reliefs qui se trouvent dans la salle des monuments orientaux je voudrais attirer spécialement l'attention des savants sur les bas-reliefs * de Tiglat-Pileser III, qui sont placés à gauche de l'entrée, près de la fenêtre, et en face de ceux d'Assournaṣirpal. J'ai cherché vainement la mention de ces bas-reliefs dans le travail de M. Paul Rost, *Die Keilschriftexte Tiglat-Pileser's III*, Leipzig 1893. Aussi m'a-t-il paru utile de donner une petite note sur les monuments de ce roi, dont le nombre est peu considérable.

Ils se composent de sept fragments bien conservés, qui ont été disposés sur deux rangées; trois forment la rangée supérieure; quatre la rangée inférieure.

Quatre seulement de ces bas-reliefs portent de courtes inscriptions, ce sont les Nos. 2, 3, 5 et 7 du plan.



Sur le No. 2 on lit



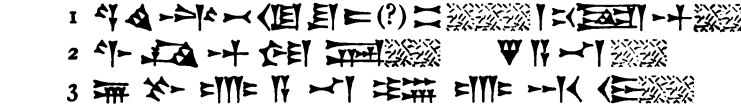
* Ces bas-reliefs ont été découverts par Layard dans ses fouilles à Nimroud.

Dans les inscriptions de Tiglat-Pileser III les signes *da* et *li* sont les mêmes que leurs correspondants dans les inscriptions vanniques, c'est-à-dire qu'ils sont écrits ainsi et .

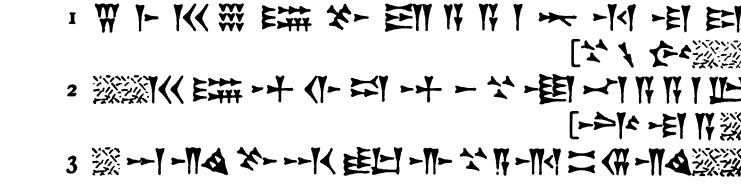
1. *le puissant, le fort, lumière de tous ses peuples...*
2. *qui anéantit ses adversaires le noble, le courageux,*
3. *qui coupe les itguruti comme un fil.*

1. zikaru dannu nûr kiššat nišê—šu,
2. daibu (ṭaibu) garêšu itlu qardu sapin...
3. itguruti (idguruti) kima qie ušallituma. *

No. 3.



No. 5.



M. Oppert a depuis longtemps reconnu que Tunâ = Tyane (Asie-Mineure). Le nom de cette ville se trouve aussi mentionné K 3061, voir le Catalogue de Bezold: Tu-'-ia-na.

No. 7.

V. pour ces inscriptions *Rost Autographierte Texte*, page 1, Pl. III, page 2, Pls. IV, V et VI.

* Ce passage a été déjà cité par *Zimmern, Babylonische Busspsalmen*, p. 104.

Nous sommes loin d'avoir les annales de Tiglat-Pileser III en entier. Comme on le voit les Nos. 2 et 3 nous donnent un peu de nouveau. Mais nous aimerions en savoir plus long sur l'œuvre d'art que le prince fit faire en l'honneur de Nindagal. Quant au No. 2, il fait partie du commencement des annales. Tiglat-Pileser III et son prédécesseur, Tiglat-Pileser I, sont célèbres par leurs expéditions dans l'Occident, et, d'après une conjecture de Nöldeke, leur nom s'est conservé en Asie-Mineure dans celui de "Philottos," époux de la Niobé du Sipyle.

M. Schrader a donné, en 1879, une excellente édition de l'*Inscription d'Assurnaṣirpal** du Musée de Zürich, qu'il a révisée depuis.

M. Oppert le premier a publié le *Contrat de Pacorus*,† qui d'après nos recherches date de l'époque Achéménide, et porte non pas le nom de Pacorus, mais celui de Xerxès. Nous lisons Iḫ-ḫa-ri-šu, forme peu correcte, pour Iḫ-ša-ḫa-ri-šu (v. une note sur ce contrat dans le prochain numéro de la *Zeitschrift* de Bezold). Xerxès se lit dans les contrats publiés par Evetts: Ak-ka-ši-ar-ši, Iḫ-ši-ia-ar-šu; en susien: Ikšerša, Ikšerišša; dans le vieux perse: Ḫiši'arši.‡

Enfin le vocabulaire de Zürich a été publié par Delitzsch dans ses *Assyrische Lesestücke* (3e édition).

Au point de vue artistique les bas-reliefs de Tiglat-Pileser III sont intéressants. Les personnages sont traités avec habileté. Le détail des muscles est un peu exagéré, mais dans ces scènes de combat il y a du mouvement.—Nous avons le regret de ne pouvoir accompagner cette petite note d'une photographie. Quoi qu'il en soit, le petit musée de Zürich mérite une visite des assyriologues de passage en Suisse.

* *Inschrift Assurnaṣirhabal's*, Text und Übersetzung, von Eberhard Schrader, Berlin, 1879, et *Standard-Inschrift König Aṣurnaṣirabals*, seulement le texte. (V. aussi le travail de M. Grivel publié en 1867.)

† *Mélanges d'Archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, T. I., p. 24, et *Documents Juridiques* en collaboration avec M. Ménant, p. 342.

Pour les inscriptions de Tiglat-Pileser III v. le mémoire d'Eberhard Schrader *Zur Kritik der Inschriften Tiglat-Pilesers II*, Berlin, 1880.

‡ M. Schrader m'écrit que Peiser a émis récemment la même conjecture. J'ai examiné avec soin l'original, et j'ai la certitude que le premier signe est Iḫ.

SEPULCHRAL FIGURES USUALLY CALLED USHABTI.

31, LANSDOWNE ROAD, S.W.,
May 13th, 1896.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

In a letter I have received from Dr. Petrie he informs me that I am in error in saying, that no XXIIIrd, XXIVth, or XXVth dynasty ushabtis are known. He says there are plenty "not only by inference, but absolutely dated, *e.g.*, those of Amenardus and Shepenapt."

Referring to Ptolemaïc and Roman ushabti he also says, that "in the hundreds of graves of those ages that I have opened not a trace of an ushabti has been found." He also draws my attention to a word I have used which probably conveys a wrong idea, viz., "glaze" on alabaster. I did not mean to imply that it was fired on, which of course is impossible, but alluded more to the appearance; it was probably coloured wax that was used.

Also Mrs. Goodison has drawn my attention to a very beautiful bright blue ushabti of the XXXth dynasty, in the Turin Museum, bearing the cartouche of Nectanebo I; it is about 9½ inches high; but still I think these bright coloured ones are the exception at that date, I had quite forgotten it. Also there is no doubt, as she says, it is only one of a number.

In looking at the Turin Catalogue my eye caught another number a little higher up the same page as the Nectanebo one, it is described as a bronze ushabti, about 5 inches high, and has the cartouche of Rameses III on it. Dr. Petrie says that to the best of his belief it is genuine; if this is so I must modify my statement about no metal ones being known; I have seen metal ones, but they were undoubtedly forgeries.

Believe me, dear Mr. Rylands,
Yours faithfully,
E. TOWRY WHYTE.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 2nd June, 1896, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read :—

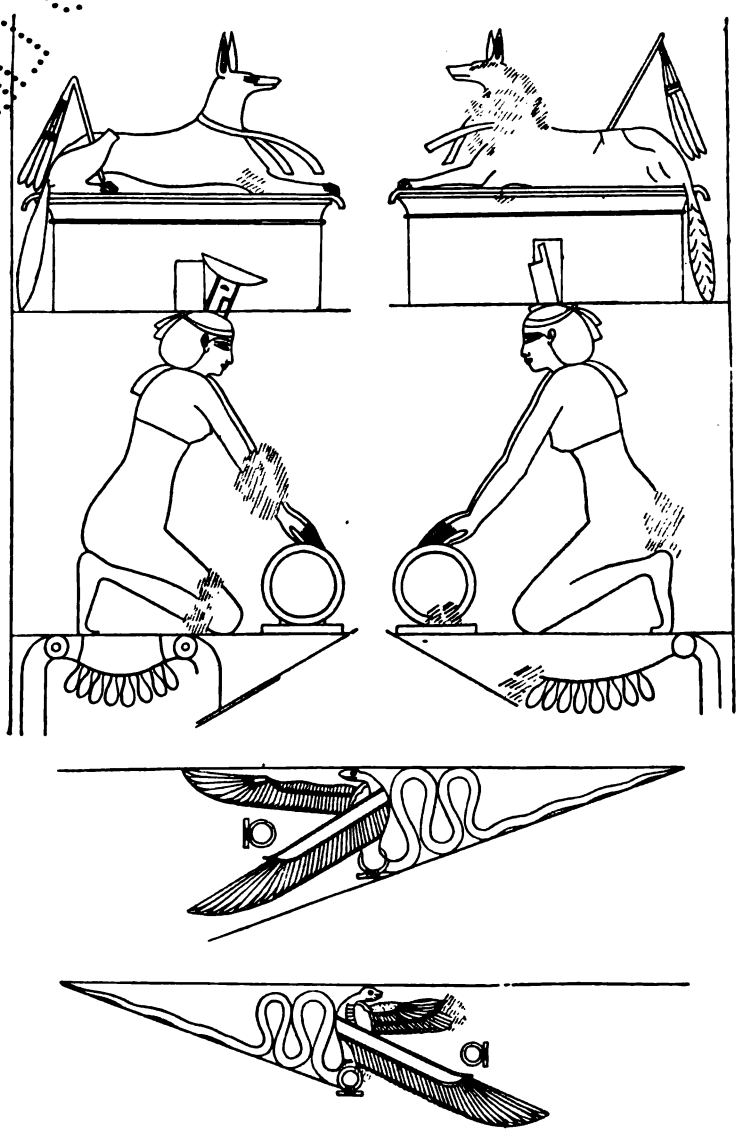
REV. G. MARGOLIOUTH—"Some Fragments of the Palestinian Syriac Version of the Holy Scriptures."

SIR P. LE P. RENOUF (*President*)—"Young and Champollion on Hieroglyphic Discovery."

PLATE XXXVI.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

CHAPTER CXXV.

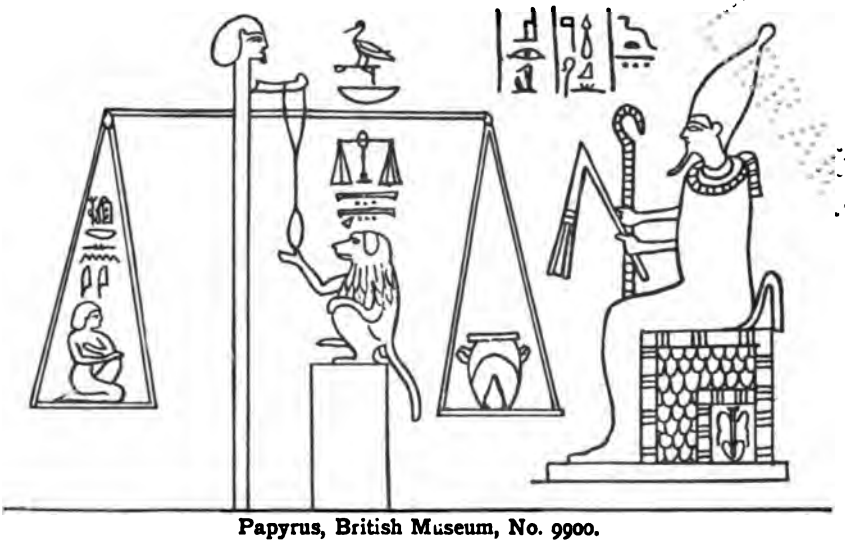


Tombeau de Seti I^er^ (Ann. du Musée Guimet, Vol. IX).

PLATE XXXVII.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

CHAPTER CXXV. (Note 2.)



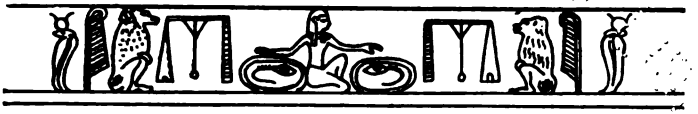
Papyrus, British Museum, No. 9900.

Mummy Case, Leyden Museum.

PLATE XXXVIII.

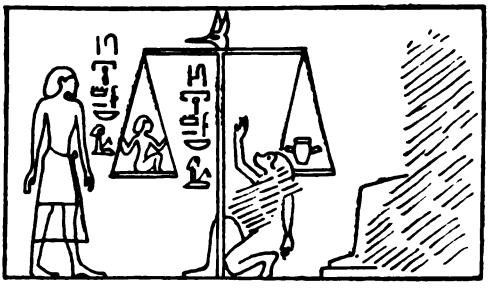
BOOK OF THE DEAD.

CHAPTER CXXV. (Note 2.)

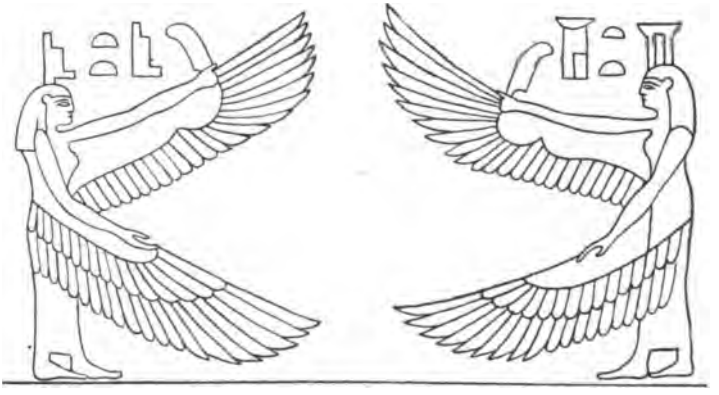


Papyrus, Leyden Museum.

LEPSIUS, Todtenbuch.



Papyrus, British Museum, No. 9964.



Mummy Case, Leyden Museum.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION, 1896.

Fifth Meeting, 2nd June, 1896.

SIR P. LE PAGE RENOUF, PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From F. Legge, Esq.:—Der gnostische Papyrus von London. Einleitung, text, und demotisch-deutsches glossar, von J. J. Hess. Freiburg (Schweiz). 1892. Folio.

From the Author, Professor R. V. Lanzone:—Les Papyrus du lac Moeris, réunis et reproduits en fac-simile, et accompagnés d'un texte explicatif. Turin. 1896. Folio.

From the Author, Professor E. Lefébure :—Le lièvre dans la Mythologie. Folio. 1896. Paris.
Melusine, Tome VIII. No. 2.

The following Candidate was submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, held on the 5th May, 1896 :—

Miss Elizabeth S. Colton, Easthampton, Mass., U.S.A.

To be added to the List of Subscribers :—

The Edinburgh Public Library, Hew Morrison, F.S.A. Scot., Librarian.

Sir P. le P. Renouf (*President*), made some remarks on the Inscription recently discovered in Egypt by Dr. Petrie.

A Paper was read by the Rev. G. Margoliouth : "Some Fragments of the Palestinian Version of the Holy Scriptures."

Remarks were added by the Rev. R. Gwynne (*Sec. for For. Corr.*), Rev. G. Margoliouth, and the President. Thanks were returned for these communications.

A Paper was read by Sir P. le P. Renouf (*President*) : "Young and Champollion on Hieroglyphic Discovery."

A vote offering the congratulations of the Society to Sir P. le P. Renouf (*President*), for the honour Her Majesty the Queen had recently conferred on him, was proposed by Mr. T. Christy, seconded by Mr. P. R. Reed, carried unanimously and ordered to be entered on the minutes.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By P. le Page Renouf.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.

Invocation of Osiris.

Hail to thee, Osiris Unneferu, son of Nut and eldest son of Seb: the Great One who proceedeth from Nut; the king in Nefu-urit; (1) the Prince in Amenta; the Lord of Abydos; the Lord of Forces; the most Mighty; the Lord of the Atef crown in Suten-hunen, the Lord of Power in Nefu-urit, (2) the Lord of the Mansion: most Powerful in Tattu: Lord of Administration, (3) and of many festivals in Tattu.

Horus exalteth his father Osiris in every place; associating Isis the Great with her sister Nephthys.

Thoth speaketh to [Horus] with the potent utterances (4) which have in himself their origin and proceed from his mouth, and which strengthen the heart of Horus beyond all gods.

Rise up Horus, son of Isis, and restore thy father Osiris!

Ha, Osiris! I am come to thee; I am Horus and I restore thee unto life upon this day, with the funereal offerings and all good things for Osiris.

Rise up, then, Osiris: I have stricken down for thee thine enemies, I have delivered thee from them.

I am Horus on this fair day, at the beautiful coming forth (5) of thy Powers: who lifteth thee up with himself on this fair day as thine associate god. (6)

Ha, Osiris! thou hast come and with thee thy *Ka*, which uniteth with thee in thy name of Ka-hotep. (7)

He glorifieth thee in thy name of the Glorified: he invoketh thee in thy name of Hekau: he openeth for thee the paths in thy name of Ap-uat. (8)

Ha, Osiris! I am come to thee that I may set thine adversaries beneath thee in every place, and that thou mayest be triumphant in presence of all the gods who are around thee.

Ha, Osiris! thou hast received thy sceptre, thy pedestal and the flight of stairs beneath thee. (9)

Regulate thou the festivals of the gods, and do thou regulate the oblations to those who reside in their mansions.

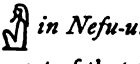
Grant thou thy greatness to the gods whom thou hast made, great god, and make thine appearance with them as their Ensign. (10)

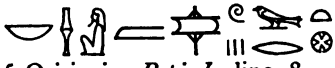
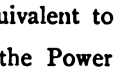
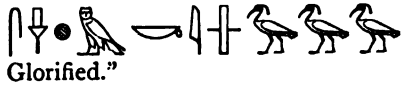
Take thou precedence (11) over all the gods and listen to the Voice of Maāt on this day.

Said over the oblations made to the Strong One on the Festival of Uaka. (12)

NOTES.

The ancient papyri do not contain this chapter. The translation follows the text of the Turin *Todtenbuch*, occasionally corrected by other papyri of the later period. There is nothing specially interesting in the chapter: the first portion of it is an invocation to Osiris under certain names, as in many other hymns* to the god from the time of the XIIth dynasty down to the latest times: the latter portion consists of evocations addressed by Horus to his father. Their prototype is to be found in formulas frequent in the Pyramid Texts. These were much admired and imitated in the Saïtic and the later periods.

1. *King in Nefu-urit* . Osiris is also called at Philæ. And in the second line of this chapter he is called  *in Nefu-urit* which, if not identical with Abydos, must have been a part of that town or in its immediate neighbourhood.

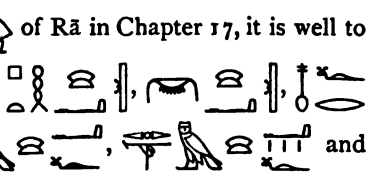
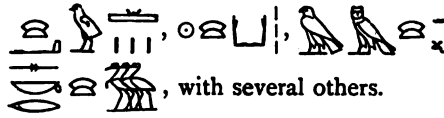
2.  is equivalent to  , the title of Osiris in *Pepi I*, line 8. And the Power is defined as  "thy Power which is upon the Glorified."

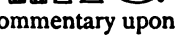
3. *Administration* ; literally *things*. See note 3 on Chapter 18.

* *Cf.* the Hymn to Osiris in the Bibl. Nationale, the Hymn of Tunrei (Mariette, *Mon. div.*, pl. 57), and an inscription copied by Mariette from the temple of Ptah at Memphis (*Mon. div.*, pl. 28 *e*). There are plenty others of the same kind.

4. *Utterances* . See note 2 on Chapter 1, and compare *Merenrā*, 103, and *Pepi II*, 13.

5. *Coming forth* . *Cf.* , ἀνατέλλειν, ἀνατολή, and the meanings ἐξοδεία and ἑορτή which, on the tablet of Canopus, corres pond to the Egyptian . The first hour after sunrise was called ; so that "the beautiful Coming forth of thy Powers" may be a mere technical periphrasis for daybreak.

Besides the of Rā in Chapter 17, it is well to remember such proper names as  and  , with several others.

6. *Thine associate god*, or *one of those about thee*,  .

See Note 2 on Chapter 18. M. Chabas in his commentary upon the fine hymn translated by him in the *Rev. Arch.*, 1857, considers it "une circonstance bizarre" that Osiris is several times included among his '*Djadjou*.' The *bizarrerie* is easily explained by parallel expressions known to every Greek scholar, οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον in Herodotus means *Pisistratus with his troops*, and in Thucydides, οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον means *Thrasybulus with his soldiers*. In the Iliad (3, 146) οἱ ἀμφὶ Πρίαμον is explained by the Scholiast as meaning *Priam himself*: τοῦτ' ἐστιν, ὁ Πρίαμος.

7. This passage as it stands is the alteration of one of the Pyramid Texts (Teta, 284; Pepi I, 54): "Horus hath brought to pass that *his Ka* [? image] which is in thee should unite with thee in thy name of Ka-hotep."

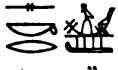
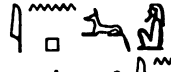
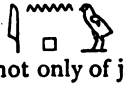
8. This whole passage is also taken from the Pyramid Texts. Its chief value in this place is in evidence of a truth not yet generally acknowledged by Egyptologists, that *Ap-uat* (or as written in the Pyramid Texts, *Up-uat*) is really Osiris. The proofs are numerous and overwhelming.

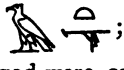
I produced evidence of this identity in the P.S.B.A. of June 1, 1886, from an obelisk of the XIIth dynasty now at Alnwick Castle, and in 1891 Brugsch published in his *Thesaurus* (p. 1420) a tablet, now in the Louvre, of the same period as the obelisk, which also treats Ap-uat as one of the names of Osiris. But the earliest as well

as the most instructive evidence is that of the Pyramid Texts. The later form of it is thus given on the coffin of *Nes-Shu-Tefnut* at Vienna (see Bergman, *Recueil*, VI, p. 165): "Horus openeth for thee thy Two Eyes that thou mayest see with them in thy name of Ap-uat."

But the Pyramids of Teta (l. 281) and Pepi (l. 131) say, "Horus openeth for thee thine Eye that thou mayest see with *it* in *its* name *Ap-uat*." Each of the Eyes of Osiris is Ap-uat, one of them is the Southern and the other is the Northern Jackal. These two facing each other form part of the symbolism explained in Note 2 upon Chapter 125.

The figure of the Jackal is wholly insufficient as an argument that Ap-uat is identical with Anubis. Much better evidence is found in the fact that the name of Anubis is sometimes written over the figure.* But the true explanation of this is, what might have seemed incredible to some of our older scholars, that Anubis is itself only one of the names of Osiris.

The Pyramids of Pepi I (line 474 and following) and Pepi II (l. 1262 and following) give imaginary etymologies of certain names of Osiris which are repeated in the inscriptions of the tomb of Horhotep, published by M. Maspero (*Miss. Arch.*, I, 260). One of these names is  , which is said to be derived from , "pass thou over to me." The next is  *Anpu*, which is derived from ! The true meaning of  is not *jackal*, but *whelp*; the fierce young of an animal; not only of jackals or lions but of men, kings or gods, . Thus Orestes speaks (Eur., *Orest.*, 1) of σκύμνον ἀνοσίου πατρός, and the Chorus of another play talks of the reception of τὸν Ἀχίλλειον σκύμνον (*Andr.*, 1170). And Shakespeare speaks of "the young whelp of Talbot's raging brood."

9. *Pedestal*,  ; the *stand* upon which the images or emblems of the god were carried in procession. The is very frequently supported by it; .

* See Mariette, *Mon. div.*, pl. 61, where each of the jackals is surmounted with the Eye and bears the name *Anpu*.

Flight of stairs, . See Note 2 on Chapter 22.

10. *Ensign, i.e., insignis,* one who bears the distinguishing mark or sign of investiture .* See Note 4 on Chapter 78.

Osiris is here presented as the Sāhu of the gods whom he has called into existence. The Hymn of the Bibliothèque Nationale (line 7) calls him .

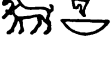
Chnumhotep at Benihassan says of the king, , , "he distinguished me above all his *nobles,*" that is the order of men bearing the sign of investiture.

11. *Take precedence,* . I take the word in the same sense as where it occurs (without the determinative of sound) in *Denkm.,* III, 29a; in parallelism with .

12. *Uaḳa,* ; in the older texts (as in Pepi I, 98); one of the oldest festivals of the Egyptian calendar, kept on the 17th and 18th of the month Thoth.

The Pyramid Text says "Behold, he cometh to thee as Orion ( ); behold Osiris cometh as Orion the *Lord of Wine* (, *vinosus,* full of wine), who cometh on the fair festival of *Uaḳa.*"

Uaḳa, or is also one of the names given to the Nile.

* The importance of this sign is manifest in the Pyramid Text (*Merenrā,* 634), "*N* maketh his appearance as King, he hath possession of his and of his throne.' [Since the above was in print M. Naville has published an inscription of Queen Hatshepsit, in which the remarkable expression  occurs three times.]

† Does represent what we call the *Belt* of Orion with its three bright stars? The word written , , but also or (and also without any vowel, though is understood), has determinatives in *Pepi* I, 635, and *Merenrā,* 509, which imply the sense of *girdle, zone.* Hence the sense of *neighbourhood,* "the men or places round about one."

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES. No. 1.

BY PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE.

I feel I cannot do better than follow the excellent example set by Prof. Hommel, and send the Society some notes I have made on certain points connected with cuneiform research. They are part of a collection that has been lying by me for some time, though I have not hitherto found the leisure to throw them into a form fit for publication. Most of them relate to matters of history and geography.

1. Prof. Hommel's acute suggestion that the name of the country in the mountains of "Martu," from which Gudea imported *nagal* or "limestone" must be read Subsalla, and identified with the land of Zabsali which was overrun by Gamil-Sin, king of Ur, is confirmed by a passage in the old geographical list published in W.A.I., II. 50. 71, where it is called *Sam-sal-[la]*. The pronunciation of the name was probably *Savsalla;* as is well known, final *v* or *w* is represented in the Sumerian texts by an interchange of *b* and *m* (or *v*). The 14 preceding lines of the list read:—"The land of Martu is the land of the Amorites (*Amurrê*); the land of Tidnum is the land of the Amorites; the land of GIRGIR is the land of the Amorites; the land of Śuri is the land of Śuwarti (Northern Mesopotamia); the land of Nimma is the land of Elam; the land of Gutium is the land of Gutu (Kurdistan); Zag-Gutium is the frontier of Gutu; the land of Sirum (?) is the land of Sir[i]; the land of Cedars is the land of Mar[tu]; the land of Markhasi (Mer'ash) is the land of Ś[uwarti]; the land of Sirrum is [the land of] . . . ; the land of Bit-Anu is [the land of Ararat]; the land of Khana is [the land of] . . . ; the land of Lulubi is [the land of Gutu?]; the land of Samsal[la is the land of Martu]." The Kurds of Kurdistan derive their name from the Babylonian *quradu*, "a warrior"—a word which was also borrowed by the Vannic language of ancient Armenia, under the form of *khuradi*—and *quradu* is given as the equivalent of *gut* (W.A.I., II. 36. 2), the sister form

qarradu being also given as a translation of *gutu*. *Gud* or *gudi* in Sumerian signified "a bull"; *Gutu*, however, was probably not a Sumerian but a native Kurdish word. The Sumerian geographical name Gutium was borrowed from a Semitic language (probably that of Babylonia) which possessed the case-ending *-um*. Bit-Anu, a play upon the name Bitanu (? the land of "palaces") applied to Biainas or Van in Armenia, is also Semitic.

Śuri or Śuru, for the character had the value of *ru or rum*, as well as of *ri* (see W.A.I., II. 56. 59*c*), corresponded in a general way to the classical Mesopotamia, though it extended further to the north-west, and when Cyrus attacked its king he is said, in his Annalistic Tablet (*Obv.* II, 16) to have crossed the Tigris below the city of Arbela. Śuri seems to be a contracted form of the Semitic Babylonian Śuwarti or Śubarti, also written Subarti and Subari (W.A.I., I. 10. 89, II. 1. 3). Subari is found in the Tel el-Amarna tablets. Tiglath-Pileser I uses it in the restricted Assyrian sense of the district north of Harran and Diarbekir. It is questionable whether Śuri has any connection with the city of Śuri mentioned in the Assyrian historical inscription. This Śuri is the classical Sura, the modern Suriyeh, on the west bank of the Euphrates, to the north of Thapsacus; it is called Sur by the Egyptian king Thothmes III, in his list of conquered localities in northern Syria (No. 252). Since Nöldeke's discussion of the subject it has been generally assumed that "Syria" is an abbreviated form of "Assyria"; it may, however, after all be descended from Śuri.*

The land of Khana has been confounded by Prof. Jensen (Z.D.M.G., XLVIII, II, p. 239) with Khani-rabbat, with which it has nothing to do. As I pointed out in 1889 (*Records of the Past*, New Ser., II, p. 149, note 3), while Khani-rabbat was eastern Kappadokia, Khana lay on the eastern frontier of Babylonia, and is associated with Lulumê (Luluwê) or Lulubi, W.A.I., I. 28. 17, 18. The kings of Khana bore Babylonian names, and wrote in the Babylonian language, as we know from the inscription of one of them now in the British Museum, and words belonging to the language of Khana are to be found in the lexical tablets.

The "land of the Amorites" included not only Central Syria, but also Canaan, and "Amorite" is accordingly often the equivalent

* It is noteworthy that in the Mujellibeh inscription of Nabonidos, discovered by Dr. Scheil, the Assyrian king is called "the king of Śu-ri" (Col. I, 35, II, 18).

of "Canaanite," as in certain passages of the Pentateuch. This shows that when the Babylonians first became acquainted with Syria the Amorites were the dominant population there. When the Assyrians first invaded Central Syria and Palestine, the place of the Amorites had been taken by the Hittites, and consequently in the Assyrian texts the inhabitants of the west are summed up under the name of Hittites. Shalmaneser II even calls the Kings of Israel, of Arvad, and of Ammon Kings of "the Hittites" (*Black Obelisk*, 88). The Sumerian Martu, "the land of the Amorites," must have been taken from a Semitic form of the name which had the feminine suffix attached to it, and then by a *Volksetymologie* have been slightly changed in pronunciation so as to resemble the two Sumerian words *Mar-tu*, "the abode of the setting (sun)." The Semitic language from which Martu was borrowed, however, was not Babylonian, as the only form of the name known to the latter dialect was *Amurru*, and it was probably one of the Semitic dialects of the west. It is noticeable that in Gen. xxii, 2 the Septuagint translators read Moreh (= Martu) instead of Moriah, and that the Syriac has "Amorites." It is possible that the name of the Phœnician town of Marathus is the same as Martu, and Brathy was a mountain famous in Phœnician mythology.

Why the name of the Amorite-land should have been symbolised by two feet facing one another (GIR-GIR) in early Babylonian writing it is impossible to say. Perhaps we shall discover the reason when the Hittite Hieroglyphs are deciphered. In the syllabaries the double ideograph is given as the equivalent of Tidnu. Prof. Hommel has long since pointed out that Tidnu is the Tidanum of Gudea from which the stone called *sir-gal khab-bi-a* was brought to Chaldea.

2. The origin of the name Kasdim applied in the Old Testament to Babylonia is still enveloped in mystery. But it should be noticed that Chesed (Gen. xxii. 22) was an Aramæan, the brother of the North Arabian tribes, Uz, Buz, and Hazo and that Arphaxad, the representative of the Babylonians (Gen. x. 22) is a compound of Chesed, not Chesed itself. In W.A.I., III. 66, *Rev.*, 16–35 *f*, we have a list of the deities of the Śuti or Bedawin; among them is Um-Kasda-KI (l. 31) "the Mother of the land of Kasda," which would therefore have presumably been in the desert west of the Euphrates. It is noticeable that in 81. 2–4. 287, *kasdû* is given as the equivalent of *irzitum* "land" and *qaqqaru* "ground." It would

seem that Kasda (which was a city as well as a country), lay on the west side of the Euphrates in the Arabian territory of the Bedawin, and that the Hebrew use of the name to denote Babylonia east of the Euphrates must have been a later extension of it. How it came about we may perhaps understand from the following considerations. The dynasty of Ur, which immediately preceded that founded by Śumu-abi or Śamu-abi ("Shem is my father") at Babylon, was not only supreme in Babylonia, but had also made conquests in the west. As has been observed above, Gamil-Sin over-ran the land of Zabsali, of which the daughter either of himself or of some other king of Ur married the *pateśi* or High-priest. At this period, accordingly, the representative of Babylonia to the Hebrew-speaking people of Canaan would have been the city of Ur, which was rather in the desert, in the domain of the Śuti, than in Babylonia proper. In the great Babylonian astronomical work we read (W.A.I., III. 60. 2. 83), "To the King of Kisarra power is given; misfortune to Ur." Kisarra means "the land of the hordes," that is to say Arabia Petræa with its hordes of nomad Bedawin. I believe that the Babylonian Kiśurru, "the frontier," is a Semitised form of Kisarra which has assumed the general sense of "frontier," Kisarra having for so many centuries bounded Babylonia on the west. At all events Kisarra represents that part of the world in which Uz, Buz, and Hazo were situated, and to which therefore Chesed presumably belonged. While to the Babylonian Ur was distinct from Kisarra, by the western Semite it would have been included in it. In this way, Chesed being equivalent to Kisarra, and Kisarra including Ur, the capital of Babylonia, Babylonia would have come to be known in the west as the land of Chesed.

(3.) The same transference of geographical meaning has, I believe, also taken place in the use of the name Shinar in the Old Testament. Shinar is usually identified with Sumer—an identification first proposed by Dr. Haigh—but a form Sungir has never been found by the side of Sumer in the inscriptions, and the recent discoveries of Mr. Pinches in regard to Khammurabi and his contemporaries make it very difficult to maintain the identification any longer. It is now clear that Khammurabi must be the Biblical Amraphel of Shinar, and since the kingdom of Khammurabi was in northern Babylonia while Sumer denotes southern Babylonia, it would seem to follow that Shinar and Sumer cannot be the same. The ingenious identifications proposed by Mr. Ball and

Prof. Hommel are equally unsatisfactory. On the other hand, the Hebrew Shin'ar is the Babylonian Sankhar, which is mentioned in Tel el-Amarna tablets (B.M., V. 49). Sankhar is the Sangair of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, the classical Singara, the Sinjar of to-day. It is an oasis in the middle of Mesopotamia, on the road from Kirkêsion, the Assyrian Śirki, to Nineveh. In the war between Rome and the Parthians its possession meant the control of Babylonia as well as of Mesopotamia. The kingdom of Sankhar adjoined Northern Babylonia, and it may have been the leading state in Śuri before the rise of Mitanni. In any case it was through Sankhar that the caravans from the west made their way to northern Babylonia, if they travelled by land. The transference of name would have been like that of "Scotland" from the north-east of Ireland to the whole of the northern part of Britain.

4. *Ophir*—That Ophir was the trading port to which gold was brought and not itself a gold-producing country, seems now to be pretty well agreed; and since Mr. Bent's researches in Central Africa, it has been supposed that Zimbabwe and its neighbourhood were the original source of the gold which was exported from Ophir. However, this may be, the Old Testament places Ophir in south-eastern Arabia in conjunction with Hadhramaut and Saba (Gen. x. 26–30). Now Sargon states that after his overthrow of Merodach-baladan, the ambassadors of Uperi, king of Dilmun, an island "in the middle of the sea," 30 *kasbu* distant from the Babylonian coast, came to offer him homage. Sir H. Rawlinson (J.R.A.S., XII. 2, New Ser., 1880), was doubtless right in identifying Dilmun with Bahrein, where Capt. Durand found a cuneiform inscription dedicated to the god Enzag, which we are told in W.A.I., II. 54. 66, was the name given to Nebo in Dilmun. I believe that Sargon, or his scribe, has confounded the name of the king with the name of his chief city, and that Uperi is really Ophir. The king of Dilmun, would therefore have been, not "Uperi," but the "king of Uperi," and we should have to look for Ophir in the neighbourhood of Bahrein. Dilmun was called Zal-tu(g) by the Sumerians, that is, "the oil-bearing land." It may be asked whether Zaltu is the origin of זית, which is a loan-word in the Semitic languages.*

* Ἐλαία, *oliva*, is equally a loan-word in Western Indo-European, and must be connected with (the perhaps Sumerian) *ulu*, also written *uru*, which is given as the equivalent of *saman*, "oil" in W.A.I., V. 28. 2. 26, 27. *Ulu* or *uru* has, of course, nothing to do with the Semitic root עלה in the sense of "highest," as

Dr. Oppert is doubtless right in identifying Dilmun (Dilvun) with Tyrus or Tylus, the classical name of Bahrein; Bahrein lies in the Gulf of Gerrha, a town which in Roman times was still celebrated for its commercial activity, and since Gerrha is merely the Arabic Jera'a "desert," Ophir may have been its original name.

5. I have been asked why I write the name of Nin-girśu, the goddess of Lagas or Tello, Inguriśa. The answer will be found in W.A.I., III. 66, where In-gu-ri-śa, 14*b*. (*Obv.*), is replaced by Nin-girśu, 3*f*. (*Rev.*); Inguriśa seems to have been the Semitic pronunciation of the Sumerian name.*

6. As I have observed above, the recent discoveries of Mr. Pinches show that Profs. Schrader and Hommel and M. Halévy were right in identifying Khammurabi with the Amraphel of Genesis. But no satisfactory explanation of the form assumed by the name in the Biblical record has as yet been offered; my own suggestion is as follows. The campaign against Canaan took place while Babylon was still in subjection to Elam, and before Khammurabi had made himself independent and overthrown the rival kingdom of Eri-Aku, or Arioch. Consequently it must have taken place in the early part of his reign, possibly even in the reign of his father. We learn from the tablet (W.A.I., V. 44. I. 21, 22), in which the names of the foreign kings of Babylonia are translated into Semitic Assyrian, that *Khammu* and *Ammi* were different modes of representing in Babylonian the same word which began with the Arabic and Canaanite *'ayin*. Consequently the name of Khammurabi would have been pronounced Ammurabi or Ammi-rabi by his subjects, as well as Khammurabi. Now, it is possible that Chedor-laomer's campaign occurred in the reign of Khammurabi's father, but that the forces of Babylon were led not by the king but by his son the crown prince. In this case a Babylonian writer would have spoken of him as *Ammi-rabi apil sar Babili*, "Ammi-rabi, the son of the king of Babylon." This would have been rendered in Hebrew אמרב]פל מלך־שנער, the Hebrew writer overlooking the fact that

Delitzsch supposes. *Ulu* was borrowed by Assyrian, and *ulu saman* is accordingly used in the sense of "olive-oil." In the language of Śuri or Mitanni, *ulnu*, which is doubtless connected with *ulu*, also signified "oil" (W.A.I., V. 28. 2. 28).

* The Assyrian loan-word *gi-ir-ti-e* is given as the equivalent of the Akkadian (or Neo-Sumerian) *me-ir-si*, in Sm. 1366. 4, 5, where it must have the signification of "bank" or "dyke."

apil was not part of the royal name, and the ב before ם subsequently dropping out of the text. The change of Larśa into אלסר shows that the text has been actually corrupted in one word at least.

(7.) An attempt has recently been made to connect *Manda* in the name of the Umman Manda, or barbarians on the eastern frontier of Babylonia, with the Assyrian *mahdu*, "much." This, however, is philologically inadmissible. The word always has the stereotyped form of Manda, and the vowel with which it terminates (*a* instead of *i*) shows, as in the similar case of *aba*, that it is of foreign origin. It probably comes from one of the Semitic dialects spoken to the east or north of Babylonia; and since the Umman Manda correspond geographically with the land of Nod, or land of "Nomads," of the Old Testament, I adhere to my old opinion that in Manda we have a derivative from the same root as *Nod* (which in Gen. x. 22, has been corrupted into the better-known Lud.). At any rate, the term Umman Manda was used by the Babylonians as the term "Barbarians" was by the Greeks to denote tribes and peoples who lay outside Babylonian religion and civilisation, and it was thus the equivalent of the Hebrew Goyyîm, "Gentiles." Now in the important tablets discovered by Mr. Pinches relating to Khammurabi and his contemporaries, while mention is made in one fragment of Tudkhula or Tid'al, in another fragment we read: *Âu Kudar-Laga[mar e]pis limnêti idkamma* D.P. Umman Man[da, *erumma ana bahu]lat Bel yunammamma* . . . . "Who is Chedor-laomer, who has wrought evil? He has assembled the Umman Manda, [he has invaded the peo]ple of Bel, and has destroyed [their sanctuaries."] ("Certain Inscriptions and Records referring to Babylonia and Elam," by Theo. G. Pinches, Paper read before the Victoria Institute, January 20, 1896.) I am, therefore, inclined to see in Tudkhula, a ruler of the Umman Manda, corresponding with the Biblical Tid'al, king of Goyyîm. As the Kurdish mountains, where the Umman Manda were located by the Babylonians, adjoined Elam on the north, they were as easily able to pass under the power of an Elamite conqueror as the states of Babylonia itself. It may be that there is a reference to the invasion of Babylonia by the combined forces of Chedor-laomer and the Umman Manda in a passage in the great Babylonian work on astronomy (W.A.I., III. 61. 21, 22), translated by me for the first time 23 years ago. Here we read: "The Umman Manda comes and governs the land.

The mercy-seats of the great gods are taken away. Bel goes to Elam. It is prophesied that after 30 years the *tuktû* shall be restored, (and that) the great gods shall return with them." It is clear from the context that *tuktû* must mean "the vanquished" or "the exiles," but the explanation of the form is by no means easy. The same word occurs in a similar context on the stela of Nabonidos, recently found at the Mujellibeh, Babylon, by Dr. Scheil (*Comptes-rendus, Académie des Inscriptions*, 4^{me} *sèr.*, tom. xxiii, 1895), where we have: "[Merodach] gave him (the Babylonian king) a helper, and he furnished him with an ally, even the king of the Umman Manda, who has no rival: he made him (the king of the U. M.) obey his commands: he caused him to go to his help: above and below like the deluge he swept; he avenged Babylon. The king of the Umman Manda, the fearless, destroyed the *tuktê* (*iriba tuktê*), he laid waste their sanctuaries." We learn from an inscription of Assur-bani-pal, published by Prof. Strong, that Tuktamme, the king of the Umman Manda, whom I have long since identified with the Lygdamis of Strabo (i. 3, 16), had done terrible injury to Assyria, but had finally been overthrown along with his son Sandaksatru. Tuktamme, therefore, whose name could also be read Dugdamme, must be the king of the Umman-Manda referred to by Nabonidos. The resemblance of his name to the word *tuktû*, which had been connected with an invasion of Babylonia by the Umman Manda 2000 years before, cannot be an accident. And considering that Strabo gives the name as Lygdamis, I believe that the Assyrian scribes altered it a little, so as to assimilate it to *tuktû*. This now seems to me more probable than my former supposition that Lygdamis is a Greek clerical error for Dygdamis.

However this may be, the passage in the great astronomical work, now, for the first time, receives its explanation from the text discovered by Mr. Pinches. It was not easy to understand why an invasion of Babylonia by the Umman Manda should have as its result that the image of Bel was carried to Elam from his temple at Babylon. But if the Umman Manda had been summoned to the war by their suzerain lord, the king of Elam, all is explained.

The Greek writers confounded the Manda of the cuneiform text with the Madâ or Medes, with whom they had nothing to do. Hence, as I pointed out in 1890 (*Records of the Past*, New Series, III, p. XV), the Medes of Berossos, who conquered Babylon at the beginning of history, must be the Manda. The dynasties of Berossos,

as they have been handed down to us, are in such confusion that it is impossible to say whether this conquest of Babylon by the Medes was connected with its conquest by Kudur-Lagamar. If it were, we must suppose that the conquest took place in the reign of Sin-muballidh the father of Khammurabi, that the king of the Manda was counted as the leader of the "Median" dynasty, and that Sin-muballidh and his successors were regarded as completing it.

In the age of the second Assyrian empire, when the Kimmerians burst upon Western Asia, the old name of Umman Manda was applied to them, and their conquest of the kingdom of Ellipi in the neighbourhood of the Kurdish mountains, where the city of Ekbatana was built, made it seem peculiarly suitable. This conquest took place in the reign of Esar-haddon, as we learn from the oracles addressed to that king, published by Prof. Strong (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, II, 1893). Here it was that Istuvegu reigned over them, whom the Greek writers call Astyages king of the Medes.

By way of compensating for the identification of the Manda with the Medes, Herodotos, and the writers who followed him, have divided the Manda Gimirrâ or Kimmerians of the inscriptions into two separate peoples, the Kimmerians and the Skyths. The Skyths are made, however, to follow on the heels of the Kimmerians, and while the Kimmerians are sent into Asia Minor, the Skyths are stated to have settled in Ekbatanian Media, and from thence to have overrun Western Asia.

The true facts are these: The Gimirrâ and the Saka, the Kimmerians and the Skyths of classical history, are one and the same people, Saka or Skyth being the Persian name, and Gimirru, the Gomer of the Old Testament, being the Assyrian. That the Persian Saka is represented by Gimirrâ in the Naksh-i-Rustem inscription of Darius was recognised long ago by Norris and Rawlinson, long before the name of the Gimirrâ had been found in the older texts of Assyria. The mistake of Herodotos was occasioned by the fact that the Greeks and Lydians of Asia Minor called the invaders Kimmerians, whereas in his Persian sources of information they were termed Saka. He consequently supposed the Kimmerians and Saka to be different, and transformed two successive hordes of Gimirrâ or Saka into two separate peoples, Kimmerians and Skyths.

His second error was due to a combination of his confusion between "Manda" and "Mede" with Medo-Persian folk-lore,

which changed the Manda chiefs into Median kings, and ascribed the overthrow of the Assyrian empire to the power and prowess of Median princes. But we now know that the old kingdom of Ellipi where Ekbatana stood was not Media, and that there were no Medes in it till the days of the Persian empire. The Madâ or Medes of the inscriptions lived further to the north-east, in Media Atropatênê; Astyages was king of the Manda, not of the Medes, and we learn from the inscription of Nabonidos, quoted above, that it was a king of the Umman Manda, not of the Medes, who assisted the king of Babylonia in taking vengeance on Nineveh. The natural vanity of the Medo-Persian writers, from whom Herodotos drew his materials, has led them to appropriate the victories of the Manda and to substitute the names of Medians for those of the Manda chieftains.

As I pointed out years ago, in my *Herodotos*, the Median chronology of Herodotos is impossible. Not only does it give the artificial number of 150 years, but it makes the Medians revolt from Assyria and bring about the overthrow of the Assyrian empire in the reign of Sennacherib, in the heyday of Assyrian power. The Median revolt is merely a distorted tradition of the Kimmerian war of Esar-haddon, 130 years before the conquest of Astyages by Cyrus. The Deiokes of Herodotos will thus correspond with the Teuspa or Teispes of the Assyrian monuments, the "Manda" chief of the Gimirrâ, whom Esar-haddon defeated and drove westward into Asia Minor. Teuspa was in alliance with the Mannâ or Minni, to the east of Ararat, with the Madâ or Medes, with Saparda or Sepharad, with Asguza or Ashkenaz, and above all with Kastarit king of Kar-Kassi, the "Wall" or "Fortress of the Kassi." We shall have to look for the latter place among the Kossæans of the western mountains of Elam, where Sennacherib found and subjugated the Kassi.

Deiokes is the Assyrian Daiukku or Dâukku, a chief of the Mannâ who was made prisoner by Sargon, and transported to Hamath in B.C. 715. A year or two later Sargon associates Bit-Dâukku, "The House of Deiokes," with Ellipi the future seat of the Manda. It is noticeable that in the list of Median kings given by Ktesias the name of Deiokes appears as Mandaukes, perhaps for Manda-Dâukku.*

* In Diodoros (*Epit.*, 30–32) the name appears as Madaukês where *Mada* takes the place of *Manda*.

Phraortes, whom Herodotos places after Deiokes, really is a Median name, the Persian Fravartish. As he is stated to have besieged Nineveh, and nearly destroyed the Assyrian power, but at last, after a reign of 22 years, to have been defeated and slain in battle, he must correspond with the historical Tuktamme (Lygdamis), the Manda king, who had a similar history according to Assur-bani-pal. In this case, Sanda-ksatru the son of Tuktamme will correspond with the Kyaxares of the Greek writer. When we remember that Arta-ksatru is the Assyrian mode of writing the name which was made Artaxerxes by the Greeks, there is perhaps something to be said for the assimilation of (Sanda)-ksatru to (Kya)xares. So far, however, as the names are concerned, Kyaxares is Kastarit, who, as we have just seen, was king of Kar-Kassi in the time of Esar-haddon.

Was Sanda-ksatru, rather than his father Tuktammê, "the king of the Umman Manda" who assisted Nabopolassar in destroying Nineveh? He may have been, but there is another possible candidate for the place. Some years ago I published in the *Proceedings of this Society* a curious inscription in the cuneiform characters of the Amardian (or Neo-Susian) syllabary, engraved on a gryphon's head of red stone which had once formed the head of a sceptre. The object was found in Kappadokia, and the inscription was that of "Ku-ar-u-van, the Mandhuvian (*Man-dhu-vas*) king." If *Mandhuvas* is the right reading, the name may be compared with Manda; in the royal name, however, the first character in it must certainly be read *van*, and not *man*, so that I should now prefer the transcription *Vandhuvas*. In this case I should connect the name with that of the Veneti (Hom., *Il.*, I. 851) in reference to whom Mæander says that the white Syrians (Λευκόσυροι), Kappadokians and Ἐνετοί were all the same people.

If, however, Kuar-uvan is a Manda and not a Hittite king, we should have an explanation of his use of the Amardian system of writing. According to Herodotos (I, 74) Kyaxares carried on war against Alyattes of Lydia, and peace was made between them only after a battle on the banks of the Halys, westward of Kappadokia. It would, therefore, be intelligible that an object made in Susiana, or in its immediate neighbourhood, should have been discovered in Kappadokia.

The last of the Manda kings who ruled at Ekbatana was Istuvegu or Astyages, conquered by Cyrus in B.C. 549. That he

was not a Mede might have been gathered from the great inscription of Darius at Behistun. Here we read that Fravartish, the pretender to the crown of Media, did not call himself Istuvegu or the son of Istuvegu, but (adopting the Babylonian forms of the names) Khasatrîti the son of Uvaku-istar. Khasatrîti is almost identical with Kastarit, which may explain how in the person of Kyaxares Kastarit has become a Median king.

The transformation of Kimmerians or Skyths into Medes was rendered easier by the fact that both peoples apparently belonged to the same race and spoke the language. The names of the Kimmerian or Manda chieftains—with the exception perhaps of Astyages, Istuvegu—are not only Indo-European, but Iranian. Teuspa or Teispes, Tuktammê and Sanda-ksatru are all Iranian names. It may be that the Medes and Persians formed the advance-guard of a migration from the West which ended with the Kimmerians or Skyths.

Finally, it must be remembered that, although the Umman Manda of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. were Kimmerians, it does not follow that the Umman Manda of the age of Khammurabi were Kimmerians also, or even of Indo-European race. In all probability they were not. But they were the barbarous or nomad population of the mountainous region on the eastern side of Babylonia, where the Kimmerian nomads afterwards came to plant themselves.

(8) While Herodotos makes the Mannian chief Deiokes the leader of the Median revolt against Assyria, Ktesias calls him Arbakes, which as we learn from the Assyrian monuments was really a Median name. All the nine Median kings of Ktesias, in fact, bear good Iranian names, with the exception of Man-daukes, who takes the place of Deiokes, and his successor Sosarmos, who is the Assyrian Samas-Rimmon. The last of them, Aspadas, is identified with Istuvegu, but as we now know that Istuvegu was not a king of the Medes at all, we may interpret the statement to mean that Istuvegu was unknown to Ktesias's authority which gave a list, not of Manda princes, but of those who were believed to have been really Median kings. There may be something in Lenormant's suggestion that the Artaios and Astibaras of the list are the two kings of Ellipi, Rita and Aspabâra, who were the contemporaries of Sargon and Sennacherib.

According to Megasthenes the fall of Nineveh at the hands of

Arbakes and Belesys took place 304 years before the accession of Darius I. This brings us to B.C. 825, the very year in which, according to the Assyrian Canon, Assur-dain-pal revolted against his father Shalmaneser II, who died shortly afterwards. For five years Assur-dain-pal ruled in Nineveh, Assur the old capital of the country, Arbela, the sacred city of Istar, and in fact in the whole of Assyria as well as in Mesopotamia, and it was not until B.C. 823 that his brother Samas-Rimmon first succeeded in overthrowing him, in capturing Nineveh, and in establishing himself as king. As I have long since pointed out, Assur-dain-pal is the Sardanapallos of the Greeks, and in his defeat and death, and the accompanying capture of Nineveh we must see the historical basis of the Perso-Greek legend of Sardanapallos. The Babylonian contemporary of Samas-Rimmon was Merodach-bala'su-iqbi, whose name, as we learn from the Babylonian Chronicle, where Nebo-nadin-zira becomes Nadin, could be officially abbreviated into Balaśu. Balaśu is the Greek Belesys, the name of the Babylonian ally of Arbakes.

Samas (*i.e.* Sawas) is written Σαώς by Hesykhios, and consequently the Sôsarmos of Ktesias must be the Assyrian Samas-Rimmon. Samas-Rimmon was, so far as we know, the first Assyrian king who made a campaign on a large scale against the Medes whom he calls Matâ—the form found in *Matiênê*—though his successor Rimmon-nirari III gives them what is henceforth their regular title, Madâ. A reminiscence of his Median conquests is preserved in the fact that Ktesias makes Sôsarmos the immediate successor of Man-daukes, who is placed after Arbakes. It has long ago been observed, however, that if we look at the number of regnal years attached to the names of the Median kings of Ktesias, we shall find that they constitute a duplicate list, the second division of which is headed by Sôsarmos, who is thus placed in parallelism with Arbakes. The list is as follows :

	Years.		Years.
(1*a*) Arbakês ...	28 + 2 years of war against Assyria.	(1*b*) Sôsarmos ...	30
(2*a*) Man-daukês	50	(2*b*) Ar-tykas ...	50
(3*a*) Arbianês ...	22	(3*b*) Artynês* ...	22
(4*a*) Artaios ...	40	(4*b*) Astibaras ...	40
(5) Aspadas,† or Astyigas ...	—		

* Artynês seems to be formed out of Arbianês by assimilation to Artykas though Arbia-nês also reminds us of Arba-kês.

† If Artaios and Astibaras are the Rita and Aspabâra of the Assyrian

As might be expected Sôsarmos appears again in Ktesias's list of Assyrian kings. In this list also the same system of duplication is to be found, the same name being repeated under two different forms which are separated from one another by one or more names. Thus we have the couplets Ninos and Ninyas (from the Assyrian Ninua), Mamythos and Mamylos, Sphairos and Sparthaios or Sparetos, Lamprides and Lampraês, Teutamos or Tautanês and Teutaios; and similarly we have also Sôsarês by the side of Sôsarmos. But this is not all. The list is further eked out by transforming Grecised Persian translations of the Assyrian names into separate kings, and accordingly we find Sôsarmos followed by Mithraios "he who has to do with the Sun-god" (Mithra, the equivalent of Samas), while in an earlier part of the list Armamithrês is simply Samas-Rimmon transposed, with the Persian Mithra substituted for Samas.

The chief difficulty of the list is the corrupt form in which it has come down to us. It has been preserved in the Latin and Armenian versions of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius (pp. 11, 15, etc.), in the Syncellus, in Moses of Khorene (*Hist. Arm.*, I, 18) who derived it from Eusebius, and in Masudi; and without reckoning the *Excerpta Barbara*, the names of individual kings are quoted by various other writers. But the different copies of it differ considerably, not only in the regnal years assigned to the kings, but also in their names, and in two cases it can be shown that they must all be in error. The last king is said to be, not Sardanapallos, but Thônos Konkholeros (Henqlus in Masudi); yet we know that the name given by Ktesias was Sardanapallos, and that the Greek legend of Sardanapallos was derived from him. Thônos Konkholeros must, therefore, be some misunderstood or corrupted title, unless it is intended to be a reference to Sin-(sar-)iskun and his contemporary Kandalanu, who belonged to what was historically the last period of Assyrian history.

The second instance in which we can show that all the copies must be wrong is still clearer. We learn from Agathias (II. 25), quoting Bion and Alexander Polyhistor, that the descendants of Semiramis reigned over Assyria down to Beleous the son of Derketadês, when the royal gardener Belêtaras seized the throne and founded a new dynasty. Beleous appears as Bellothus in

inscriptions, Aspadas may have been their successor, the last king of Ellipi, who was conquered by the Kimmerians.

Eusebius, Bêlokhos in the Syncellus, Vestaskalus in Moses Khor., Tbaulius in Masudi, while Belêtaras is Bellepares in Eusebius, Balatorês in the Syncellus and Atirus in Masudi. The immediate predecessor of Bêlokhos is Amyntês, who is preceded by Ascades or Astakadis in Euseb., Askatadês in the Sync. and Moses Khor., and Ustalim in Masudi. Amyntes is merely a Greek translation of an Assyrian *nazir* or *nirari* (as in Assur-nazir-pal and Rimmon-nirari), and we must restore the name of his predecessor as Derketadês. Derketadês is simply "the descendant of Derketo" or Semiramis, in allusion to the worship paid by the Assyrian kings to Istar of Nineveh and Istar of Arbela, and the first syllable in the name Askatadês, &c., must be corrected into *Der*.

Nevertheless in spite of the corrupted character of the list, it is possible to explain several of the names in it. Years ago in my Memoir on the Vannic inscriptions (J.R.A.S., XIV. 3; 1883), I showed that Arios and Aralios are the Ara and Aralez of Armenian mythology—Ara reappearing in Plato's "Er" the Armenian,— the Aria and Arali of the Sumerians. Xerxes (Khshayarsha) is given as the Persian equivalent of Balaios, a Greek derivative from the Babylonian *bilu* "lord" (see Hdt., VI. 98, where Xerxes is said to mean ἄρειος). Balaios reappears as the successor of Belokhos between whom and Xerxes-Balaios Armamithrês is made to intervene. As we have seen above, Belokhos occurs again later on in the list, as the predecessor of Balatorês who seems to be the Belimos of Kephalion (*Fr.* 13). We have two more doublets in Mamitos and Mamylos (probably from the Assyrian goddess Mamit, or Destiny), and Sphairos (Euseb. Iphereus, Mos. Khor. Spharos, Masudi Safrus), and Sparetos (Sync. Sparthaios). Sibir was a king of Babylonia in the 10th century B.C. Next we have the three doublets Lampridês and Lamparês (Sync. Lampraês), Sôsarês and Sôsarmos, followed by Mithraios, Tautanês and Tautaios. Tautaios seems to be a derivative from the Assyrian Tavti "the sea" or Persian Gulf, of which the Babylonian equivalent would be Tavtânu. Tautaios would therefore be the king or dynasty "from the Sea," and correspond with the Vth Babylonian dynasty which the Dynastic Tablet calls "the dynasty of the Sea." The Syncellus identifies Tautanês with the Teutamos of Greek legend who sent troops to Troy. Derkylos, the 29th king according to Eusebius, bears the same relation to Derketô that Mamylos does to Mamitos, and so takes us back to Derketadês; Ophrataios, the 33rd king, is a derivative from the Persian Ufratu,

"the Euphrates," like Tautaios from Tavti, and his predecessor, Pertiades, is merely a doublet, from Purattu, the Babylonian form of the river's name. That the patronymics Pertiades and Lampridês should be made to precede Ophrataios and Lamparês, is explained by the analogy of Derketadês when the latter had been transformed from an epithet of Belokhos—"the descendant of Derketô"—into the name of his father. Ophratanês, the 34th king according to Eusebius, will bear the same relation to Ophrataios that Tautanês does to Tautaios, if the reading is right, but as the Syncellus gives Ephekherês this is doubtful. However, Masudi has Fruṭalus, though he gives Menṭurus for Ophrataios. The 35th king is made Akrazapes by Eusebius, Akraganês by the Sync., Akrazanes by Moses Khor. Perhaps Sargon is the original of it.

Of the other kings in the list the name of the 10th it is impossible to restore. Eusebius makes it Altadas, the Syncellus Sethôs, Moses of Khorene Azatagus, and Masudi Alhalus. Since a sibilant before a dental in Assyrian became *l*, Ktêsias may have given the two forms Astadas and Altadas. If so, Astadas may have been the cause of the corruption of Derketadês into Askatadês. It would also explain why, in the name of the next king but one, the Syncellus has Askhalios, while Eusebius has Mancalæus and Moses Khor. Maskhaleos, (Masudi, Kelus).

Thineus (Thinaios) the 28th king in Euseb. is omitted by the Sync., but would be a derivative, like Balaios, from Sin, the Moon God. S. Augustine (*Civ. Dei*, xviii. 11) calls him Oneus, and makes him the 29th king. The successor of Derkylos is called Eupoles by Euseb., Eupakmês by the Sync., Eupalmes by Moses Khor., and Afrus by Masudi. It is, therefore, impossible to restore the original name, though it seems to have contained the Assyrian *pal*, "son."

There still remain three names, Amyntês, Panyas, and Laosthenês. Each of these kings is made to reign 45 years, and the names of two of them, if not of all three, are Greek, They are, in fact, Greek translations of either Assyrian or Persian names. Amyntês, as I have already said, is the Assyrian *nazir* and *nirari;* Laosthenês corresponds with *danan*, as in Assur-danan, "Assur is strong" (or, perhaps, with Assur-bil-nisi-su, "Assur is lord of his people"); and Panyas (if that is the right form) is probably formed from Panu, like Ninyas from Ninua. Panu in Assyrian means "face," but the correct reading may be Πανιάς, "belonging to the god Pan," as is

indicated by the Paunias of Euseb., and the Paneas of Moses Khor., since the *Excerpta Barbara* give "Paunias, that is to say Zeus."

The change of dynasty recorded by Agathias, when the "gardener" Belêtares usurped the throne, seems to be that which, as we may gather from our cuneiform documents, transferred the royal power from Bel-kudurri-uzur to Ninip-pileser, about B.C. 1200. Ninip-pileser was the founder of the dynasty to which Tiglath-pileser I belonged, and the legend that he had been a gardener was probably derived from the old tradition which made Sargon of Akkad a gardener before he ascended the throne. If Belêtaras—Balatorês in the Syncellus—is (Ninip-)pileser, with the Aramaic change of *s* to *t* which meets us in *Aturia* for *Assyria*, Belokhos will be Bel-kudur-(uzur). We know from the Babylonian Chronicle and other documents that royal names were often used in an abbreviated form.

My conclusion, therefore, is that the list of Assyrian kings given by Ktêsias is really derived from the names of a limited number of Assyro-Babylonian gods and sovereigns which have been multiplied in various ways, the most usual of which is to duplicate a name under two different forms. We have no reason to doubt the statement of Ktêsias that he had derived his information from the "royal records" of Persia, that is to say, the documents in the library of the royal palace (Diod., II. 22. 5), and those records, in spite of their mythical character, were based upon historical materials, like the historical novels of Sir Walter Scott. We cannot extract history out of them, but when the history is once known we can determine to what extent it has been used.

As to the four kings, Arabêlos, Khalaos, Anebos, and Babios, interpolated by the Syncellus in the place of Thinaios, they have probably come from the beginning of the list, where, indeed, they are placed by Moses of Khorene. They represent the two Assyrian cities Arbela and Calah, and the two Babylonian cities Ê-Nabi, "the temple of Nebo," or Borsippa, and Babylon, and correspond in a way with the four Assyrian cities of Gen. x. Their original order was probably

(1*a*) Babylon)	(1*b*) Calah
(2*a*) Ê-Nabi	(2*b*) Arbela.

Nineveh, it must be remembered, had already been mentioned under the names of Ninos and Ninyas.

ON A HIEROGLYPHIC SIGN.

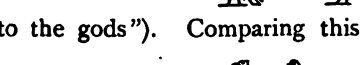
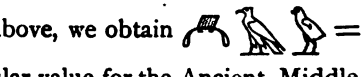
By W. MAX MÜLLER.

After Professor Piehl's detailed criticism (*Proceedings*, 93, 481 ff.) of my article on the sign (*Rec. trav.*, 15, 32 ff.), it does not seem difficult to sum up all results of the many studies published thus far on that hieroglyphic sign. In order to explain some misunderstandings, I confine myself strictly to this one question and, for the sake of avoiding all other disputations, I use the same transcription as Professor Piehl.*

1. *The value* "AU" *of* .

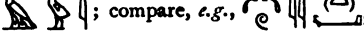
No attempt has been made, so far, to refute the numerous examples of the value *au*, collected in my article. It is easy to increase them. E.g., *Benihasan*, 38, *šs-au*, "oryx," ϣωϣϥϣϥ, occurs in almost the same place and in the same time (*Ros.*, 19, 4; *Champ.*, 383, 428) as *šs-au* (*šoš'w*). The equation = results. The Coptic pronunciation ϣωϣϥϣϥ which fits only with this orthography is, at least, as old as 850 B.C.; cf. *Zeitschrift f. Assyriologie*, 93, 210. The tomb of Elephantine discovered by Mr. Schiaparelli has furnished the somewhat uncommon orthography *àbau nṯr*, equivalent (*Rec. trav.*, 14, 187, *Ä.Z.*, 92, 81) in the pyramids to , P., 402, M. 573, , P., II, 1180, "the sacred dances." The equation = *au*, again! The word "dance" *àba* is well known; see *Rec. trav.*, 9, 161. Above, we have the plural *àb*AU, "dances."

* I beg the reader to observe that I do so only for this reason.

This is the value as a syllabic sign. Of course, the ideographic value must be the same. In such cases, it is always underlying the syllabic one. As ideograph means, "to extend, to stretch out" (or the passive). I have already shown the noun, "that which is stretched forth (presented) by the arms," *i.e.*, "offering," to be written once *au-âi* [*ʒw-ʿ(w)ï*], *L.D.*, II, 28. See furthermore in the pyramids (P., 336, similarly 339)  , "he presents* him (to the gods"). Comparing this with the orthography mentioned above, we obtain  = *au*. This is the regular value for the Ancient, Middle, and New Empire. It has been recognized already by Mr. F. L. Griffith.

2. *The alleged old value* "FU."

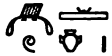
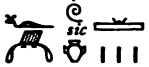
I must state that, so far, no proofs have been found for an earlier pronunciation *fu*. Formerly, the *f* of the two words *ḥfau*, "snake," and *afau*, "honour, respect," † was mistaken for a part of . The error is shown by the absence of *f* in all other words, and by the *a*, overlooked entirely by the old reading *fu*. This error being recognized, we have no more reason for reading an *f* in any word where it is not written. If we try to read words like *maut*, "sticks" (*Anast.*, 4, 16, 6), with an *f*, where must it stand? In the two words *ḥfau* and *afau*, responsible for the misreading, the *f* stands before *a*. How can it stand after it in the alleged reading *ma(f)ut*? If somebody wishes to make *f* a part of , he ought to transliterate *ma(fa)ut*, and to treat as *fau*. But we have no room for this in words like

* The is the ending of the first person singular, used in the original text and left here by mistake; see Sethe's thesis on his dissertation, *De Aleph Prosthetico*. The varying position, P., 339, betrays this. Nevertheless, the root seems to belong to the class tertiæ Jodh ; compare, *e.g.*,  , *R.I.H.*, 256, *Abbott*, 3, 5, Mar., *Karn.*, 11, 5.

† The word *ḳfau*, "power," does not count. It is a late disfiguration of the old *ḳbat* or *ḳfat*, and dates from that time in which was already used for *fau*. Somewhat better forms are still found (*Rec. trav.*, 15, 158, *Ä.Z.*, 87, 122).

maut, written (*Totb.*, 149*b*, etc.), and never showing an *f*. No instance of the suppression or insertion * of *f* has been found in Egyptian so far.

If the word *nau*, "wind" (*L.D.*, III, 114*i*), would be a younger or dialectic form of the old word *nf*, this would not change anything. If the *f* has been changed (?) here to *u*(*w*), of course, it is no longer an *f*. No one can prove the perfect identity of letters by their being interchanged *mutatis mutandis*. It will be a very interesting philological question, why and how the seeming change (?) of *f* into *w* has taken place, but this question has nothing to do with our present study. Besides, there are some difficulties attached to that word *nau*. †

In my article on the sign *au*, I had not mentioned the manifest blunder of an Egyptian scribe (Champ., *Mon.*, 68). The hieroglammateus copied the old poetic phrase, "lord of honour (*fau*), great of respect." Being unfamiliar with the old group *fau*, "honour," and thinking of the more frequent phrase  *au-ȧb*, "wide (*i.e.*, joyful) of heart," because a phrase referring to the "gladness" (*rśu*) of Egypt was not far off, he confounded both and put in a senseless ("heart"):  . What shall this plain blunder prove? Certainly not that the two words illtreated by the thoughtless scribe are identical.—I repeat: there is no proof for a value *fu* in the first 3000 years of Egyptian writing.

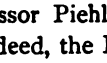
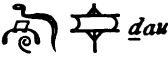
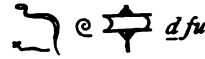
* The insertion of the semi-vowels *w* and *y* (*i*), frequent in many languages, is a well known fact. Its conditions are likewise known: it takes the place of a hiatus and must be supported by the corresponding vowels. Whether these conditions apply here, whether we have any right to confound the consonant *f* with these semi-vowels, whether such insertions occur in Egyptian and whether *f* appears as helping consonant in any living language or not, all these questions we do not need to discuss here. We could try it, if *f* would stand between the (alleged) vowels *a* and *u*. But the only cases are *ḫfau*, *afau* (*ḫfau*), quite a different position!

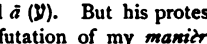
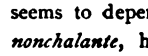
† The identity of *nf* and *nau* not being recognized by the later Egyptians, I am afraid the latter one is a derivation of a root *nau*, or *nu* (*nw*), the exact meaning of which still remains to be determined. So far, no case of an *f* dissolved into *v*, *w* is known. *Puy*, "this," and *pfi*, "that," are by no means developed from one another, although they may have the common demonstrative element *pa*.

3. *The common Ptolemaic use of* "AU."

Professor Piehl (p. 488) has drawn attention to the orthography *ḏau*, a very bad spelling * for the old *ṯau*, later *tau*, in old Greek glosses τευ, Coptic ⲦⲀⲨ, ⲑⲞⲨ, "wind" (*Ä.Z.*, 86, 87). Nowhere an *f*! This is one more instance that the correct reading *au* still was known and used in latest times. Other instances see in my article.

4. *The late pronunciation* "FAU," *or* "FU."

Here I have to retract my previous doubts. *Rec. trav.*, 15, 35, I had still asked if the variant *a-(f)u*, instead of the correct *afau*, discovered by Professor Piehl, was not a simple mistake of the old or modern copyist (Duemichen), *f* being omitted? Professor Piehl has shown that this suspicion is to be abandoned. Indeed, the Egyptians of latest times employed sometimes for *fau*  . Two instances (*Proceedings*, 93, 88)—practically one, as they are copied from one another—show that a scribe considered the above orthography,  *ḏau*, not strange enough, and "improved" it to  *ḏfu*, rendering by *fu*. If he wished this novel spelling to be pronounced *têfe* (?) instead of the regular *têw(e)*, is a question which I do not dare to answer. Most likely, the late spelling

* Till now, all Egyptologists had agreed that grammar and spelling of the Ptolemaic and Roman inscriptions were, as a rule, very bad. To my surprise, Professor Piehl censures me for this common opinion, and protests against my declaration (*Rec. trav.*, 15, 34) that hierogrammates of Roman time did not care much about the distinction of such letters as *a*, *ȧ* (𓄿), and *ā* (𓇋). But his protest seems to depend on a misunderstanding for, in his refutation of my *manière nonchalante*, he quotes the above word, a blending of  and  , proving confusion of *ḏ* and *ṯ*, of and . No better example of the ignorance of later scribes and of the necessity of careful distinction between the "Egyptian" and the Ptolemaic-Roman style could be found.

kfau "power," possibly also the strange disfiguration of the word *uba* in the "Rituel de l'embaument" (*Rec. trav.*, 15, 36), confirm, that some scribes used for *f(a)u*. The reasons for this play were, as I have said (*Rec. trav.*, 15, 35), the same as have deceived modern decipherers. The sign had become very obsolete, and was regularly written only in the two words *afau* and *ḥfau*. So the later scribes were induced to treat *f* as belonging to the sign *au*. How old this mistake is, we do not yet know, but, certainly, the value belongs only to those marked in Brugsch's *List of Hieroglyphs* with "Basse Epoque." To introduce it into the texts of the pyramids, would hardly be better than reading their with the Ptolemaic value *n*, etc.

I hope my esteemed colleague can agree with the compromise: is *au* up to Ptolemaic time, later on it is used sometimes for *fau*, possibly even for *fu*.

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ALKER, E., Die Chronologie der Bucher der Könige und Paralipomenōn im Einklang mit der Chronologie der Aegypter, Assyrer, Babylonier und Meder.
AMÉLINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.
———— Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.
———— La Morale Egyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.
AMIAUD, La Légende Syriaque de Saint Alexis, l'homme de Dieu.
———— A., AND L. MECHINEAU, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babyloniennes et Assyriennes.
——— Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.
BAETHGEN, Beitrage zur Semitischen Religiongeshichte. Der Gott Israels und die Götter der Heiden.
BLASS, A. F., Eudoxi ars Astronomica qualis in Charta Aegyptiaca superest.
BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
BRUGSCH-BEY, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vol. I—III (Brugsch).
———— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés pas H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
BUDINGER, M., De Colonarium quarundam Phoeniciarum primordiis cum Hebraeorum exodo conjunctis.
BURCKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
CASSEL, PAULUS, Zophnet Paneach Aegyptische Deutungen.
CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, III. 1862–1873.
DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
———— 2nd series, 1869.
———— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1886.
———— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
EBERS, G., Papyrus Ebers.
ERMAN, Papyrus Westcar.
Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
GAYET, E., Stèles de la XII dynastie au Musée du Louvre.
GOLÉNISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
———— Vingt-quatre Tablettes Cappadociennes de la Collection de.
GRANT-BEY, Dr., The Ancient Egyptian Religion and the Influence it exerted on the Religions that came in contact with it.
HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
HOMMEL, Dr., Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens. 1892.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION, 1896.

Sixth Meeting, 3rd November, 1896.

JOSEPH POLLARD, Esq.,

IN THE CHAIR.

The Society have to regret the loss by death of the following Members:—

His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, *Vice-President.*

James Grant-Bey, M.D., LL.D., C.M.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author, Rev. A. J. Delattre, S.J.:—Le Pays de Chanan, province de l'ancien empire égyptien. 8vo. Paris. 1896.

Revue des questions Historiques. 1896, Juillet.

From the Authors, J. E. Gautier et Gustave Jéquier:—Fouilles de Licht. 8vo. Paris. 1896.

Revue Arch.

From the Author, Dr. A. Wiedemann:—Remarques et Notes. 8vo. 1896.

Recueil de Travaux, XVIII.

From the Author, Prof. E. Lefébure:—Le lièvre dans la Mythologie. Paris. 8vo. 1896.

Mélusine, Tome VIII.

From the Author, E. Amélineau:—Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos. 8vo. Angers. 1896.

From the Author, Joseph Pollard (*Member of Council*):—The Land of the Monuments, Notes on Egyptian Travel. 8vo. 1896.

From the Author, Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J.:—I Fenchi e la Civiltà Micenea secondo il Prof. W. Helbig. 8vo. Rome. 1896.

Civiltà Cattolica, Vol. VI.

From Rev. R. Gwynne (*Sec. for For. Corr.*):—Catalogue of Antiquities from Thebes, exhibited at University College, July 6th to Aug. 1st, 1896.

Egyptian Research Account. 8vo. London.

From J. Pollard:—Another copy.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting to be held on the 1st December, 1896:—

Alexander Snell Cantlay, Avalonia, Dunheved Road South, Thornton Heath.

Richard Cooke, The Croft, Detling, Maidstone.

Francis A. Cunningham, A.M., B.Sc., 825, Arch Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

Mrs. Grenfell, Via San Martino, 114, Viareggio, Riviera di Levante, Italy.

Eduard Kotalla, Domplatz 4, Breslau.

Reginald Arthur Rye, Fernie-Knowe, Lancaster-road, West Norwood, S.E.

M. l'Abbé de la Paquerie, Supérieur du Bon Pasteur, Marseilles.

Rev. W. Merrell White, Harrop Edge House, Stalybridge.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:—

The Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A.

A Paper was read by the Rev. Dr. Löwy: "The Song of Deborah."

Remarks were added by Rev. R. Gwynne, Rev. Dr. Gaster, and Dr. Löwy.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

STELA OF MENTUHETEP SON OF HEPY.

By F. Ll. Griffith.

In 1894, Professor Petrie purchased in Luxor a limestone stela of the Middle Kingdom, which he deposited in the Edwards Library at University College, London. It had been broken across and mended by the Arabs, and the surface was a good deal injured, while some of the engraving upon it was filled with the powdered lime, etc., used in the repairs.* Unfortunately also the stone was full of salt, and the variable English climate acting upon this soon caused the surface to crumble away. The only remedy was to give the tablet a long soaking in water and so extract the salt. About a month after its arrival this was done by Professor Petrie himself, who took all possible precautions to save the surface from dropping off piecemeal. The tablet was laid face upwards in still water, which was occasionally drawn off and renewed without any disturbance, and after about a month of this treatment the tablet was cleaned and dried and the fragments replaced. The losses, which with less care might have been serious, amount to only three or four signs gone and a few others injured, while what remains is now perfectly secure from decay.

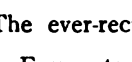
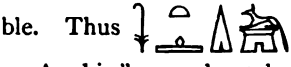
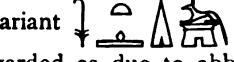
The reading of some passages in the inscription was made clearer by the cleaning process, and fortunately Mr. Crum and I had made rough though careful copies of the tablet soon after it was unpacked. Mr. Crum with his usual generosity lent me his copy for comparison, so that I have had the fullest possible materials to work from in restoring the readings, and repeated examination

* There are also several broad and irregular groovings, or channels, down the face, such as are sometimes observable in monuments of limestone. Professor Petrie believes that they were caused by the decay of large plant roots against the face of the stone.

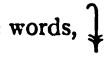
of the original has cleared up almost every doubtful point. For an excellent and careful copy of the original the Society is indebted to Miss Carthew. In the plate, broken outlines mean that the signs are no longer traceable, but have clear warrant in the first copies.

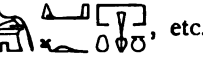
The tablet measures 19 × 25 inches (in the plate reduced to little more than one third linear). On the left side we have the standing figure of the deceased, named Mentuhetep, wearing collar, curled wig, and waist cloth with triangular fold in front. He is striding forward with a long staff in one hand and a *kherp* wand of dignity in the other. The artist as usual desired to show as much as possible of the front part of the body, and since it faced to the right, he was compelled to reverse the position of the arms, the advanced "staff" hand becoming the left, and the *kherp* hand the right. The top line of writing contains a prayer and ends with Mentuhetep's name and titles over his head; the description of this personage follows in fifteen lines engraved in front of the figure.

Line 1. May the king grant *ḥetep* (*a*), and may Osiris lord of Dedu (Busiris), the great god lord of Abydos (grant *ḥetep*), may he (Osiris) grant a ready service (*b*) (with) bread, beer, flesh of beasts and fowl, thousands of cloth and stuffs and of every good and pure thing, to the worthy (*c*) *erpa ḥa*, superintendent of the priests, Mentuhetep, born of Hepy, justified (?) (*d*).

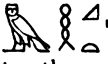
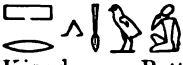
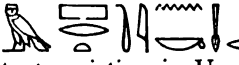
(*a*) The ever-recurring formula,  , is pronounced by Professor Erman to be unintelligible (*Grammar*, p. 40*), and the more one studies the variants the less certain does any single rendering appear. Probably the variants are somewhat contradictory through the formula having lost the sharpness of its meaning by repetition. It seems to me that, in the case of a very ancient formula used over and over again millions of times, where there is a choice of variants it is safest to take the fullest form; contraction, both phonetic and graphic, being probable and undue expansion improbable. Thus  , "*ḥetep* give the king, and *ḥetep* give Anubis," may be taken as the standard expansion of for the decipherer to work from; and any difficulties in the variant  , which is common enough, may be disregarded as due to abbreviation of a kind that obscures the

sense: just as an ignorant or thoughtless writer might produce a meaningless quotation out of "Pater noster" or use it in a perverted sense. The history of an abbreviation is often forgotten.

The variants show that , the king, was as much appealed to for as the god; indeed more so, for the king's title is hardly once omitted from the prayer. The king always stands first in the appeal, and the prayer is constantly referred to in the inscriptions by a name taken from its first three words,  .

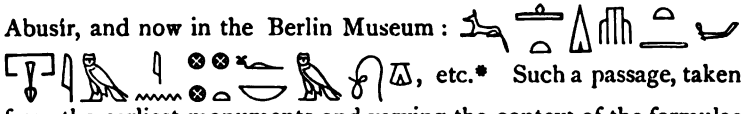
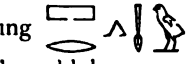
There can be no question that in the early texts the appeal to the king is a real one, but in the XIIth Dynasty we find an extension of the formula, thus  , etc., in which the and all the other blessings except the are given by the god or gods solely, without the co-operation of the king, and it looks as if the word was retained here only from custom in order to introduce the formula, and that it had no real significance. It is possible, however, that it had a very serious meaning. In that case the formula will show that while the king was equal with the gods in granting *ḥetep*, and his *ḥetep* was almost, if not quite, indispensable, he never specifically shared in the giving of .

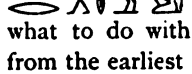
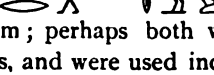
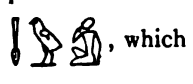
Ḥetep might mean (1) "an offering," (2) "rest" (in the tomb), or (3) "grace." As to the first, *ḥetep* here seems by no means an appropriate word for the gift of a god or king to a deceased mortal, for it rather denotes an offering from an inferior made to gain the favour of a superior. "Rest," "repose" fits better; but if "grace" is the real meaning, as I have long suspected, then the king (if the king's name is really important at all) appears as a mediator whose "sanction" is required to the petition, yet who is unable to grant the enjoyment of the supplies, while the gods, who cannot or will not act without the sanction of the king, when that is obtained give their own sanction and enable the deceased to partake of the joys of the blessed dead. In hieratic of the XVIIIth Dynasty, is written , or , an orthography which is in favour of the sense "offering.' With regard to its position in the formula *ḥtp dỉ' stn ḥtp dỉ' Inpw*, it seems to be placed first as a matter of emphasis: "GRACE (?) grant the king," etc.

(*b*) . This group was discussed in 1858 by BIRCH, in his admirable *Mémoire sur une patère égyptienne*, p. 72, and recently by Maspero, *Études de Mythologie*, I., p. 112. It is a graphic contraction found in the earliest known texts, and two extensions of it are authorized by the ancient scribes. For the XIIth Dynasty Dr. Birch quoted from stelae—one of them SHARPE, *Eg. Insc.*, I, xvii—two almost identical examples of  , etc., corresponding to , and M. Maspero added to these two remarkable examples of the use of the phrase  in a funerary formula from the time of the New Kingdom. Better still, Sir P. Le Page Renouf has quoted from the Pyramid texts of the Old Kingdom the weighty phrase  , which constantly recurs without important variation in Unas and Pepy II. (see SCHACK-SCHACKENBURG, *Index zu den Pyramidentexten*, p. 33,* under g), in a context which can hardly leave a doubt that it is connected with .

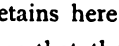
But Dr. Birch also quoted from the Book of the Dead, Chapter CV, the phrase determined by the sign of food. That this was recognized as a solution of by some of the best scribes of the XVIIIth Dynasty is shown by a passage in the tomb of Paheri (back wall, l. 41), in which priests, etc., visiting the tomb are desired to "say , in accordance with what was in writing, and , as the ancestors said, even as that which issued from the mouth of the god." The parallel position of the two formulae in these sentences leaves no doubt as to being intended to represent the inevitable . The Paheri text is doubtless written carefully in order to represent accurately the true reading of the antique formula as it was pronounced by the "ancestors."

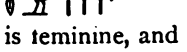
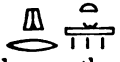
There happens to be a very striking instance of in a tomb

of the time of Snefru, at the very commencement of the monumental period in Egypt, namely the tomb of Methen brought from Abusir, and now in the Berlin Museum :  , etc.* Such a passage, taken from the earliest monuments and varying the context of the formulae to an extraordinary degree, even the appeal to the king being for once omitted, affords the best possible test by which to try the extension and the meaning. The reading  , "issue of the voice," "utterance of the voice," would be meaningless with the following ; but by reading we obtain the following excellent sense: "May Anubis, chief of the Sacred Land, give *ḥetep*, that there may be a coming out in answer to the call therein (?) by all his domains in the feast of Uag, etc." Below are figured the domains personified as women, and bringing the food, drink, etc. (It is only difficult to fix the word to which refers; it might mean "therein," *i.e.*, in the Sacred Land; "thereby," *i.e.*, by the grace (*ḥetep*) of Anubis; or "therewith," *i.e.*, supplied from the offering (*ḥetep*) of Anubis). Here the farms as servants or attendants are necessarily the agents of , so that should mean "a coming out (of servants in obedience) to the voice (of their master)." It might very well be an ancient household term that found its way at a remote date into the ritual. So also in NAVILLE, *Tâth.*, Cap. CV., the best texts have, "but I am not an ox of victims, one does not come out to the voice with me," , *i.e.*, "I am not served up for funerary food."

We have therefore two readings well authenticated, namely,  and  . It is difficult to know what to do with them; perhaps both were recognized as correct from the earliest times, and were used indifferently according to the preference of the scribe. Perhaps, on the other hand,  , which has not been found in any text dating from before

* *L. D.*, II, 5.

the New Kingdom, represents a false attempt on the part of the scribe to give a meaning to the contraction. But if is to make sense in the Methen text, we must suppose one of two things: either  retains here a transitive sense by ancient usage, otherwise obsolete, so that the phrase means not "a coming out of the voice," but "a making to come out, an utterance of the voice by the cities," or else the two words had already at that early time formed, by an "Americanism," a single compound verb capable of being constructed with an agent. Even so it is not very clear how should come to mean practically "funerary offerings."

Lastly, to note what the leading views on the subject are at present: In his *Grammar*, p. 50*, Professor Erman cautiously reads doubtfully, *prt-ḫrw* (?), "Darbringung für die Toten," without discussing it. This general meaning of course no one disputes. Professor Maspero allows both extensions, "sortie de voix," "sortie à la voix," each, however, meaning "coming forth (of the offerings in answer) to the voice (of the sacrificer)." Lastly, Sir P. Renouf, *Proc.*, XVI, 272, reads it simply "coming forth of food," and so "mortuary gifts."  , however, cannot be ϩpe, "food," for the Coptic word is feminine, and appears to be the determinative not of alone, but of the whole phrase; moreover, the hieroglyphic original of ϩpe (a word very common also in Demotic) is certainly  .

(*c*) seems to denote the quality of having earned favour by faithful service.

(*d*) Professor Maspero's translation "true of voice," in the intonation of spells, etc. (see his well-known article in *Études de Mythologie*, I., p. 93), agrees best with the usual meaning of , but I am not yet persuaded that the old rendering "triumphant," "justified" does not give the best sense, the words *m3c ḫrw*

literally expressing that the person named is proved "true of statement," "true of claim." It is quite possible that in this ancient formula should have had a special meaning not found elsewhere. In line 10 below there is a good example of the expression.

The inscription continues :—

2. He says: I was firm of foot, forcing a way (through obstacles), one whom his lord caused to be loved?. I was a great one of (*i.e.*, in dealing with) a difficult situation (?),* applying (?) the heart, free of weariness (carelessness),†

3. not rude (sulky ?) before the powerful: my affection was in the body of the royal friends and the magnates of the palace who appeared‡ there gloriously; (I was one that) entered to his lord with magnates at his back,

4. and the doorkeepers bending down as far as (or, 'until I reached') the place in which (his)§ majesty was. Coming out thence my heart was exalted, I had praises in the sight of all people. His [majesty]‖ did,

5. these things to his servant of the greatness of my forcing a way (determination and energy). He made me "Satisfier of the desire"¶ of his majesty, in An (Hermonthis), the best of his estates (or, 'the chief city of his nomes'). The learned and the ignorant loved me, every one praised God for me,**

6. in praying for me long life upon earth, of the greatness of the praises that his majesty accorded to me beyond the others who had been (?) in this city. I it was that brought up the child and buried the aged,

* Apparently , which is sometimes used in an abstract case.

† Crum has ? for the first , but there is no ? in my copy. The word is of the same formation as *nmsms*, *nftft*, *Saneha*, line 4, etc.

‡ I do not feel sure of the construction here.

§ must have been omitted by accident. The complication of persons has produced confusion.

‖ Restore .

¶ A title, not a mere epithet.

** .

7. and as to every oppressed one belonging thereto,* I gave bread to the hungry, clothes to the naked: I was the son of Nepra (god of the harvest), husband of Tayt (goddess of weaving, etc.): one to whom grew

8. cows†: possessor of precious things in every mineral‡ a (very) Meschent (goddess of birth) and Khnumu (god of creation) (in) making (establishing) people: when there was a deficient Nile§ for twenty-five years,‖

9. not allowing my nome to be irrigated (?),¶ I gave to it southern corn and spelt, not allowing misery** to take place in it, until there came abundant Niles. I fed the children with

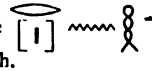
10. my hands, and I anointed the widows. There was not a poor man wretched in my time. I strove to make myself beloved of the desire that my name should be good, and that my claim should be justified.††

11. in Khertneter. The children were instructed (?) for me in pleasantness of speech (?). Attentive of heart to prevent strife with a poor man; not was there an overseer rude; desiring to comfort (?) the heart until it should tell

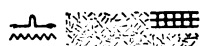
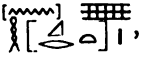
* The reading would seem to be with little doubt except as to the , but the translation is very doubtful.

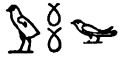
†

‡ See DE MORGAN, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, for examples of such jewellery.

§ If does not belong to , this may be  , "height" of Nile, as in the measurements at Semneh.

‖ This might be "in the year XXV of the king"; but no reign is mentioned on the stela. Or it might refer to the nomarchship; but the stela seems to belong to the XIIth Dynasty, and the dating by nomarchship hardly existed so late.

¶ Crum  ; mine . The reading appears to be ;  , "I did not allow my nome to be famished," suggests itself as a restoration, but there is hardly space for the .

** perhaps =  of *Prisse*, see *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XIII, 74.

†† See note *d* on line 1.

12. its troubles, until it should discuss (?) the things of its interior: listening to its speech, curing its woe; causing a man to be just beyond (mere) silence (inaction?), that desire should be drowned (?). Bending the back (?)* (in condescension or reverence)

13. to everybody, not veiling the face from the hungry. It was a kindly (or 'beloved') hand, it was a unique complexion (species?): as to the people (?),† there was not any disputer with an overseer (?)

14. or with any under-officer (?) of (my?) house (department?), but rather I (?) said: 'let thy heart be encouraged (?), be not grieved (?)‡ at complaints' until he told that for which he had come. Were reported to me the affairs of the poor,

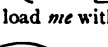
15. of widows and of orphans likewise.§ I made their ..... to give breath to him who had gone to wretchedness. Verily it is a good distinction of a man for himself, more than thousands of armsful of accomplishment. I heard the mouth of men

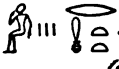
16. in (the manner of) that proverb concerning the overseer of geese (?): 'the monument of a man is his glory (lit. "good things"), oblivion is an evil.' Distinction, verily it did come to pass‖ as hath been said: whereas I have indeed a good¶ name, established in my city, my monument shall not decay to eternity.

The above epitaph, which contains plenty of difficult words and expressions, nevertheless gives us a remarkable picture of a kindly and beneficent ruler, lacking selfish ambition, but not ability or energy. Whether it be a true character of Mentuhetep in particular is another matter. We learn from it that Mentuhetep son of Hepy was *ha*-prince and superintendent of the priests in Hermonthis. These combined titles were seldom, if ever, held except by the nomarch; we might therefore be tolerably sure that Mentuhetep was nomarch of the Hermonthite nome, in which Thebes itself was

* Probably the engraver has written for or .

† The reading is practically certain, but the passage is difficult to translate.

‡ A variant of  , Brugsch, *Wtb. Suppl.*; lit. "burdened," but perhaps "do not load *me* with complaints" would account better for the .

§ Read  .

‖ The after is very uncertain.

¶ Crum agrees with me in , , and , all of which are now lost.

situated, even if the general tenor of the inscription did not imply this fact. By its style the stela belongs to the Middle Kingdom, and from insistance on virtues which can best flourish in times of peace we may be sure that it dates from a period when Egypt was in a thoroughly settled condition. The text makes mention of a succession of deficient rises of the Nile continuing apparently for the unparalleled period of twenty-five years. This famine might well be identified with that mentioned in the inscription of Amenemhat at Beni Hasan which must have occurred in the time of Usertesen I.

As regards the personality of the man for whom this epitaph was written little can be discovered. Mentuhetep was certainly a common name in the Hermonthite nome, where Mentu was at that time the principal deity, and Hepy also was a common name, so perhaps no further identification of the Mentuhetep of this stela will ever be satisfactorily made.

A NEW EPONYM LIST. 82-5-22, 121.

By the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, M.A.

This tablet first attracted my attention on October 17th, when seeking for "lists of officials" by aid of the great *Catalogue of Kouyunjik Tablets*. Owing to the failing light I could then only make out a few names, but noted that it was an Eponym List. I have since carefully copied it, and though it mostly repeats a sequence already well-known, I thought it worth while to make it common property at once. One line, however, Column II, 5, deviates remarkably from the usual Canon. Unfortunately the whole tablet is much injured, and this line is rather uncertain in its reading. The name Zêr-bâni is read in Canon I, K. 4329, by an almost certain restoration of the traces left in Column V, 6. On Canon III, K. 4389, Column IV, line 6, it is clearly Zêr-bâni, and on Canon IV, Column IV, 1, it is the same. In this new copy, however, the line begins with Aššur-mât . . . šú . . . . Mr. Pinches, who very kindly has collated my copy with the original, suggests that the traces may read Aššur-mat-i-pú-šú, and in that case the Zêr-bâni of the other copies must be resolved into (⟝ =) Aššur-mât-(⟝ =) ipuš.

That an entirely different name might occur is shown by the Eponym Lists for B.C. 787; where Nabû-šar-uṣur is given by Rm. 580 and 81-2-4, 187, but Balaṭu by K. 4389. The explanation in both cases may be the same. In my copy after the name a sign occurs which may be *šar*. This also occurs after the name Gi-ḫi-ilu in Column III, 3. In neither case can I feel certain of the character nor suggest a meaning for it. At the bottom of Column I were certainly two more lines, but though it is easy to guess what they contained, I cannot identify the traces sufficiently to be sure of them. In Column IV there are traces at the top edge besides those I give lower. The latter may have been part of Aššurbanipal's usual colophon.

The older sequence of state officers seems to have been abandoned in Sargon's time. Aššur-iska-danin who preceded Sargon seems to have been *tartan*: for in K. 998 Aššur-is . . . . is named as *tartan* (*Catalogue*, p. 207). Assuming the old order he

should have *followed* Sargon. The *nagir êkalli* ought to come next, and this may have been Aššur-mât-ipuš. Then Zêr-bani, if a different person, could have been rab-bi-lul, whatever that means, and would be followed properly by Ṭab-šâr-Aššur, the tukultu. As far as I know this distribution of offices is not confirmed by any dated contracts. Other deviations from the old order occur in Sargon's reign, and in Sennacherib's all seems changed. So this must remain conjecture at present. Possibly the character at end of line 5, Column II, is an ideogram for *nagir êkalli*, and if so Giḫilu in B.C. 689 held that office. If as a fact Zêrbani was *nagir êkalli* and Aššur-mât-ipuš the *rabbilul*, then the unknown character may be an ideogram for *rabbilul:* and Giḫilu held *that* office. Such a conjecture is not impossible, for assuming his predecessor Nabû-ukîn-aḫi to be *nagir êkalli*, then the Eponym of B.C. 691, Bêl-emuranni was *tartan*. The latter was the case in B.C. 686 at any rate; and though in B.C. 691 the Taylor Cylinder calls him governor of Carchemish, he may have come to the office of *tartan* the same year, so as to make the sequence I have suggested the true one.

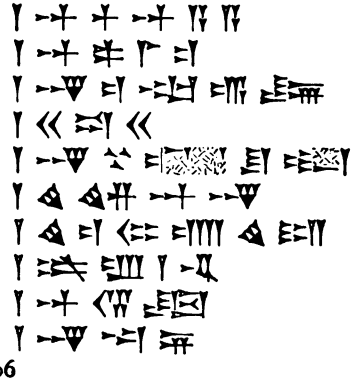
The tablet has been broken in two pieces, and was rejoined in the Museum. The crack passes down between the Columns I and II, but does not cause much difficulty. The surface is bruised, and the characters were already distorted while the clay was damp. I did not see any Museum "label" with it. The *Catalogue* (p. 1837) calls it, "part of a list of names of persons, probably officials." I believe it has not been hitherto noticed elsewhere.

82-5-22, 121.

OBVERSE.

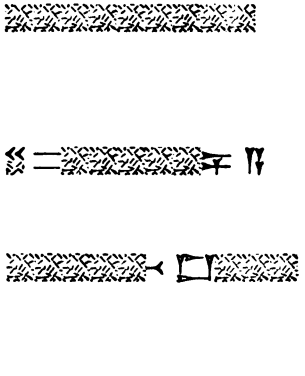
Column I.

Column II.

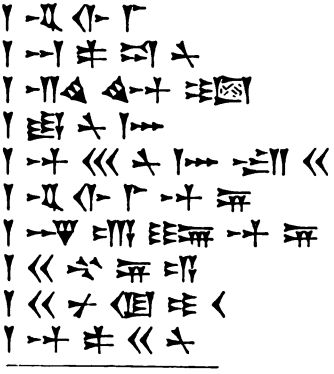


REVERSE.

Column IV.



Column. III.



bottom edge

N.B.—The solid type indicates what I am sure I can see, the hollow type what probable restoration suits the traces best in my opinion.

As the first column begins with Tiglath-pileser III, B.C. 743, and the second with Ninip-ilai, B.C. 722, Column I contained 21 lines, or 22 if Shalmaneser IV had 2 lines to himself. Column II probably contains another 21 or 22 lines, ending with B.C. 700 or B.C. 701. Column III must have had 18 or 19 lines, of which 10 remain. Column IV thus had about 9 lines, or the list reached from B.C. 743 to B.C. 673.

If the reasons no longer exist which caused the esteemed compiler of the *Catalogue* to withhold the information that 82-5-22, 121 is an Eponym List, perhaps he would state for the public good what were the characters in line 5 of Column II when he first examined the tablet.

TWO UNKNOWN HEBREW VERSIONS OF THE TOBIT LEGEND.

[*Published for the First Time.*]

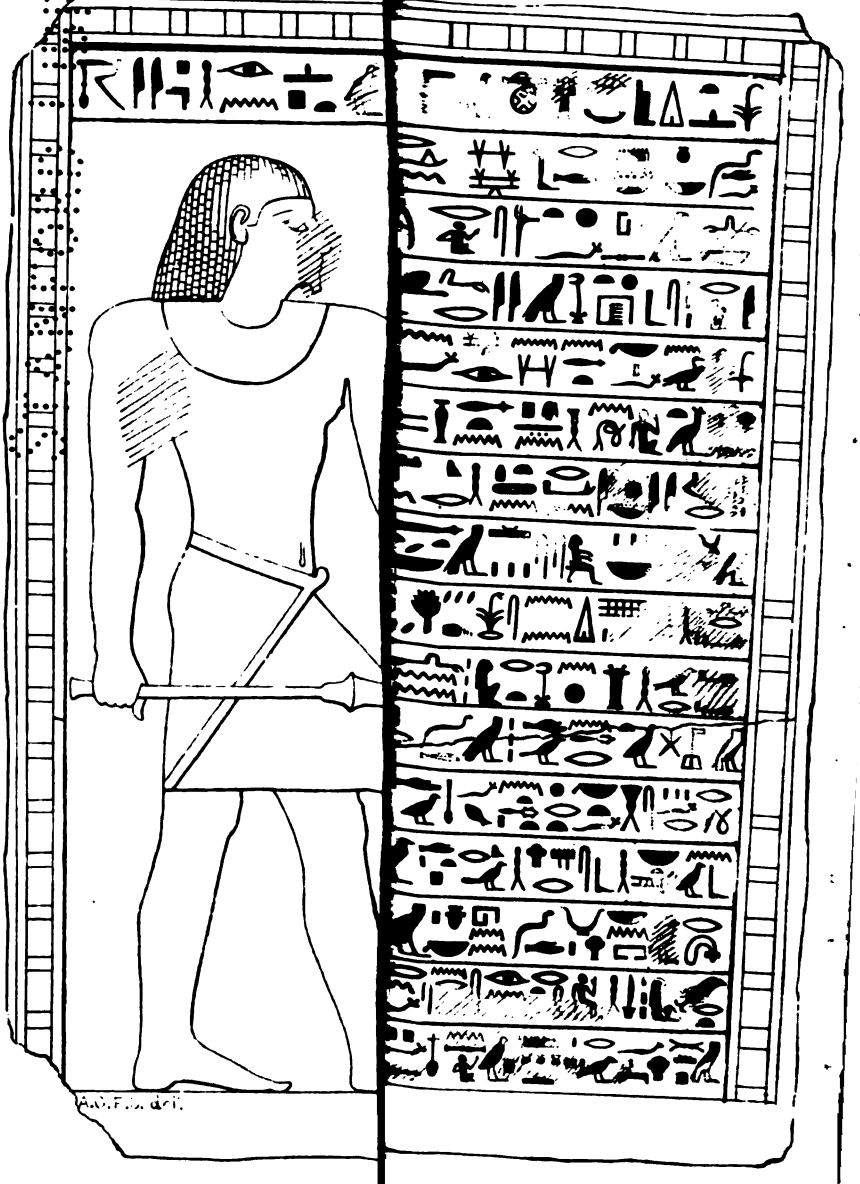
By Dr. M. Gaster.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

Of all the Apocrypha of the Old Testament the legend of Tobit alone may be said to have come down to us in the greatest variety of texts and translations. There are no less than three more or less different Greek texts, which are not slight alterations of one and the same original, but differ often in essential points. Then there are two distinct classes of Latin translations: one the Vetus Latin, represented by a variety of texts, and agreeing in some points with the so-called Greek Sinaiticus (C), and the translation of Jerome, *i.e.*, the *Vulgate*. We have then at least two Syriac translations, both however imperfect, each of these representing a somewhat different text.

Up to a very short time ago only two Hebrew texts of Tobit were known. Both had appeared for the first time in Constantinople (I possess both editions) (*a*) in 1516, and (*b*) in 1519. The first is better known as Hebræus Munsteri (H.M.), and the second as Hebræus Fagii (H.F.), after the names of these two scholars who edited them in 1542. In 1878 Dr. Neubauer published* the till then unknown Aramaic text (Ar.), and furnished thus an important

* The Book of Tobit, Oxford, 1878.



addition to the literary tradition of the Tobit legend. In the light of Dr. Neubauer's discovery the question of the relation in which the different texts stand to one another became a little more simplified, but the material thus available was not yet sufficient to clear up, for instance, the true origin of Jerome's text. The result of the investigation, conducted by many scholars, and summarised here, has not been able to establish definitely which of the various Greek texts can claim absolute priority. Noeldeke, and following him Schuerer, adopted the view propounded by Fritzsche and others. They consider the text of our LXX (A) as the most ancient and best. The other two texts (B) and (C) are, according to them, secondary developments and modifications of that oldest text. From the same text (A) originate, so we are told, (*a*) the first fragment of the Syriac; (*b*) the Æthiopic translation; and (*c*) the Hebrew text (HF); this latter is not exactly a translation, but rather an adaptation. From the secondary Greek text, or a mixed text (B, C), arises to a certain extent (*a*) an old Aramaic text differing from that of Dr. Neubauer, which would also be more an adaptation with many characteristic changes and differences; (*b*) Vetus Lat.; and (*c*) the second fragment of the Syriac. That supposed more complete Aramaic text now lost (*a*), is then the reputed source of the Aramaic text discovered by Dr. Neubauer (Ar.), and also of the Hebrew version of 1516 (H.M.). To the same lost Aramaic source the translation of Jerome is also traced. The net outcome of this scheme formulated by Noeldeke is that we have on the one hand the Greek text A of the LXX forming a distinct group; and, on the other hand, a number of texts which seem to go back to one partly represented by Greek B, C, to which latter group all the Semitic versions as well as the Latin, both the Vetus and Jerome, except Syr. I, belong. Others again look to B, C as the primary source, and A as the secondary development and enlargement; so Reusch and others.

The connection between the Latin and Aramaic-Hebrew texts, and the reasons for such marked differences between them, has not yet found an adequate explanation. Nor, to my mind, has the priority claimed for the Greek text A or for any Greek text, been established on firm ground. It is very surprising that most of the versions should favour a text (A) which, according to modern scholars, would be far from being the authentic and the oldest one, and that the authors of these numerous versions should select, as

if it were, for their model, the secondary version B, C. Still more surprising is it that the old Latin, and especially Jerome, should so completely neglect that old Greek version (A) and prefer instead, a totally different text. Nor have we any reason to doubt Jerome's deliberate statement that he took his Tobit from an Aramaic original; Dr. Neubauer's discovery goes a long way to prove it, although Jerome's Aramaic version must have been very different from that of Dr. Neubauer.

In order to unravel the somewhat entangled skein of the numerous versions, it is advisable to start from the text of Jerome, about the date of which there cannot be any doubt. Illgen, who has written a very elaborate and minute study on the book of Tobit,* has shown that Jerome has laid the older Latin version under considerable contribution. According to Jerome's own statement, the text he had before him was written in Aramaic, and a Jew who knew both languages translated it to him into Hebrew, from which language he made his Latin translation. Not a word, however, is mentioned by him of the Old Latin, and it is not a little surprising to find in his version a number of incidents and details wanting in all the others. These additions and differences, which I will enumerate afterwards, have been lightly set down as due to his invention (Fritzsche). I am not aware of any such liberty having been taken by Jerome with any other canonical or apocryphal book translated by him. And although he may not have had a high respect for the Book of Tobit, it is nevertheless singular that he should have indulged in such a fanciful enlargement of a text, which he knew to be held in esteem by the Church, and that he should try to palm off his fiction as truth on the devout people who wrote to him for the book. This, as well as his silence about the Old Latin, and the choice deliberately made by him in the selection of this version in preference to that of the LXX, call for an explanation. This can only be found, if we assume that he had followed faithfully a text which contained those peculiar incidents and variations. That text must have had the reputation of being the genuine version, and for that very reason had also been followed in the main by the Old Latin translation. I do not wish to say that the Vetus Latin was translated directly from the very same text which served Jerome as a source. Vetus Latin follows in the

* *Die Geschichte Tobits.* Jena, 1800.

main Greek texts, which may have been, and probably were, a Greek version of the B C type, in its turn a translation from the Aramaic, and which served thus as an intermediary source for the Old Latin. Being in the main identical with his own text, Jerome could have recourse to the Old Latin for touching up his version, which he owns to have completed in one single day. There was thus no need for him to acknowledge more than one source, namely Aramaic, as the O. Lat. was of secondary importance, and merely used by him for the purpose of rectifying the translation where it agreed with his. He took from the Old Latin, if he has taken anything at all, only materials for verbal alterations, but none of the *realia*. They agree both, because both are based upon almost one and the same text. Jerome also differs from the Vetus Latin in not a few instances, showing himself independent of it.

Having cleared the road thus far, we proceed now to the study of his original, which according to his explicit statement was Aramaic. The text published by Dr. Neubauer differs, however, in most of the peculiar incidents characteristic of the version of Jerome, and must therefore be considered merely as a faint reflex, or as a later modification of the ancient and more elaborate version. This shorter version had been incorporated into a collection of homiletical interpretations of the Pentateuch, and has suffered in consequence. This is probably the reason for the abridgement. As we shall see later on, this text has a history of its own, and by means of undoubted evidence it can be proved that it had suffered curtailment and other changes, in consequence of that connection with the Liturgy. The Hebrew text H.M. is considered to be a translation from an older and more complete Aramaic text, but it differs also in many, if not in most of the essential points, from the version of Jerome.

Before proceeding further I will point out the most important differences between Jerome and the Greek text of the LXX (A). Gr. reads *Tobit* whilst Jer. reads *Tobias*. According to Gr. Tobit was *purveyor* to the king (I, 13); Jer. *he has leave to go whithersoever he would* (I, 14). Gr. (I, 19) Tobit *flees alone;* Jer. (I, 23) *he flees with his wife and child.* Gr. (II, 10) *sparrows* blind him; Jer. *swallow.* Gr. (III, 10) Sara wishes to *strangle herself;* Jer. *she fasts three days.* Gr. (IX, 2) the angel Raphael starts for Rages with *only one slave;* Jer. with *four.* Gr. (XI, 14–19) Sara comes to Nineveh *the same day as Tobias;* Jer. (XI, 14–19) after *seven days.*

The dog plays a very inferior part in Jerome, and it is not unlikely that it is a later interpolation (XI, 9). The three nights of continence are also peculiar to Jerome, not a trace of it in the Greek. Many passages that are in the Greek are missing in Jerome. Thus there is not a trace in Jerome of Tobit being maintained by Achiacharos during his blindness (II, 10), nor of the doctors attempting to cure him; and, on the other hand, not a trace can be found in the Greek of the parallel to Job (Jer. II, 12–15). The various prayers inserted in the texts are different. The wife of Reuel is called by Jerome *Ḥanna*, against all the other texts where she is called *Edna*. One could easily increase the number of variations, which point conclusively to a text different in many essential features from that of the LXX. Only here and there does the other text, B C, offer parallels to Jerome. The Aramaic text agrees with Jerome only in a few instances, such as the number of servants taken by the angel, the position occupied by Tobi at the court of Shalmanassar, whilst on the other hand it differs from Jerome's text in almost every other incident. The dog is not mentioned at all, and Aqiqar appears only in the commencement of the tale. Nothing better can be said of the more complete text H.M. In it there are a few other additions which are missing in the Aramaic; H.M. contains some of the same moral reflections as Jerome, and leans more towards the Greek B C than towards the Aramaic (Ar.). Another version which belongs to this cycle is the fragmentary Syriac from VII, 11, on. But this is still more remote from Jerome and from the other Aramaic text, as well as from the Greek versions in the form in which we have them. I will mention only one or two points which Syr. II has, contrary to all the rest. In XI, 13, the friends bring presents after the wedding. Tobias prays (VII, 8) for children. The angel does not say, as in the Greek (XII, 12), that he had brought the prayers before God, nor that he presents the prayers of the saints (XII, 15). On the other hand Syr. II calls the father Tobi; his friend Aqiqar; the wife of Reuel Edna, the man to whom Tobit had lent the money, is called Gabæl (Jer. Gabel).

Enough has now been said to show the great divergence that exists in not unimportant portions and incidents between the various texts belonging to this one group. Not any of these texts can, therefore, be considered as the probable direct source for the others. Neither the Aramaic, nor, so far, the Hebrew Munsteri, nor the Greek B C, nor the Syriac, though they have many points in

common. And as for the Itala, and, in a higher degree, for Jerome, the resemblance between them and the others is of the slenderest nature.

What we are in search of is to find a single text, be it in Aramaic or in Hebrew, which should offer the same characteristics as the version of Jerome, without being a translation from the latter; having also its own points of divergence, so that the original character of that text should be established beyond doubt or cavil. At the same time it must have points in common with one or the other Greek text.

I think, now, that I have discovered such an ideal text, which comes up to all the requirements of the case. It is a Hebrew text copied, latest in the 13th century, from an older MS. which, if my conjecture is correct, belonged to the 11th century. In its turn, it may be, and in every proba bility was a copy of the original text. The MS. in the British Museum Add. 11639 is one of the finest specimens of mediæval calligraphy; it is of the choicest penmanship imaginable, and is placed among the Select on account of its artistic merits, being full of admirable illuminations and drawings. It was written by a certain Benjamin, the scribe, on very thin and perfect vellum. The laiger part of the MS. is taken up by the Pentateuch, round the margin of which portions of the Hagiographa are written. Then follow prayers, poetical and liturgical compositions, laws, regulations, rules, calendar, and many other similar compositions and texts. Round some of the liturgical poems, this history of Tobit is written by the same hand and with the same care. The calendar on folio 563*b* begins with the moon-cycle 266, which corresponds to the year 5036, *i.e.*, 1276, probably the date of the writing. On folio 568*b*, however, the date 828 or 858 (= 4858) is given, which is probably the date of the original, and corresponds to the year 1068 or 1098.

The legend is written with special care; in a few places corrections are added *over* the text, and in one instance (III, 20), not having been able to read an obliterated or erased word, the scribe indicated the lacuna by dots, and did not try to correct the text. In a few instances he did not distinguish correctly the letters of the original; he writes, *e.g.*, the name of the place where Tobit and the angel went, *Dage*, instead of *Rage*. The mistake points to the form of letters in which that original, from which he copied, was written. In the Spanish and the old *Palestinian* cursive writing it

is almost impossible to distinguish between D and R. I must point out, however, what cannot be a mere coincidence, that in an ancient Hebrew version of the 12th century of the longer recension of Judith discovered by me, the town (I, 5) is called *Dage*, instead of *Ragau;* absolutely identical with the Tobit text.

The text is divided in verses. At the end of Chapter VI stands the word *Half*, exactly as it is customary with sacred texts. As our text is apparently not complete at the end, this division could not be the work of the copyist, but he must have found it already in his original. I point out all these minute details, as it is necessary to convince ourselves of the fact, that we have in our MS. a *copy* of a more ancient text, and not a production of the 13th century. The contents of this new version which, for brevity's sake, I will call H.L. (Hebrew London), had so thoroughly surprised me, that I had to convince myself by the examination of all the details, and by a careful comparison with the known versions, and more especially with Jerome's, that we have here a really genuine, independent and thus very important version; and not merely a translation or slight adaptation of one of the known versions. For to state it briefly, we have here, if not the very original of Jerome's text, at least a version which comes nearer to that ancient version than any other, and may be the old original. All the peculiar incidents which distinguish that text occur also in this Hebrew version. The similarity is so great, that at the first glance, one appears to be the direct translation of the other. On more minute examination we find, however, a number of variants, great and important enough to secure the independence of the Hebrew from the Latin, but not so easily *vice versâ*. The Hebrew text is in some parts more enlarged, and in others shorter than Jerome. It is characteristic that both the dog and every mention of Aqiqar as well as of Nadan or Laban is missing in H.L. The latter part of the XIIIth and of the XIVth chapter are also wanting. The prayers are mostly different, and greatly resemble the prayers of the Hebrew liturgy. The language is modelled after that of the Bible, the phraseology of which is closely imitated, and is, in skill and expression, vastly superior to that of H.M. and H.F., both of which betray the influence of the rabbinical terminology. The author of H.L. had the Bible at his fingers' ends. At the same time, there occur at least two direct parallels to formulas of the liturgy (VIII, 5, 6; XIII, 11), and numerous other reminiscences. But as these were known already in the time of the Talmud

and probably in that of the Mishna, they are of comparatively great antiquity. A few might be interpolations made by the first copyist. The language seems in some passages rather forced and somewhat artificial.

And yet by a close examination we convince ourselves that it is to a great extent the language of the prayers formulated at the time of the Second Temple, and what is more important, that this peculiar form of biblical and postbiblical language is shared by the recently discovered fragments of Ecclesiasticus and also of other Hebrew apocryphal texts such as the Testament of Naftali and the History of Judith in the version to which I have referred above. This language resembles more that of the last writers in the Bible, such as Ezra and Nehemia, as well as Daniel, in spite of the frequent use of other more archaic forms borrowed from older texts. There are also a few peculiarities, which I point out at the end of this publication, that show the transition from the language of the Bible to the so-called New-Hebrew. We may therefore safely see in this text the *oldest reflex* of the very *original* from which all the rest has flown. That it should have been translated at a very early period into the vernacular (Aramaic) is not at all surprising, and being excluded from the Canon, the Hebrew original soon disappeared. For this reason Jerome speaks only of the Aramaic, which must henceforth be considered as one of the versions and not as the original.

One can also not easily set aside the argument of Prof. Graetz (*Monatschrift*, 1879 p. 145 ff.), according to which the "Aramaic" of Jerome may mean the Hebrew language of the postbiblical time in distinction of that of the Bible. Jerome had no name for this development of Hebrew, and as some Aramaic words had been admitted into this language, not having a better to designate it, he called it pure and simple Aramaic. Graetz has pointed out many mistakes in the Greek and Latin translations, which can only be explained as misunderstandings of a purely Hebrew text. True, against this view stand the explicit words of Jerome, that the original of Tobit had to be translated to him into Hebrew. The language of this newly discovered text is, however, so much akin to bibilical Hebrew, that if we believe this to have been the source of Jerome, it is somewhat difficult to explain the necessity for another translator. Jerome could have easily mastered the text without any further assistance from a Jew. But he may have had the Aramaic version of this text.

If H.L. should be a translation from another language, and in this case Aramaic is the nearest to be thought of, then the translator has disguised his dependence upon another text so skilfully that it cannot be detected. The deep-going differences from the Greek versions exclude these from our purview, and the frequent discrepancies between this text and Jerome's, make it equally impossible to look upon the latter as a possible source from which the Hebrew might have been translated. There are so many obscure passages in the Latin and Greek versions which are now satisfactorily explained through this text, that they warrant the assumption that we have in our text, thus far, not a translation, but the oldest and best Semitic form of that original, from which Jerome made his translation, and to which B.C. refer, though indirectly. Quite peculiar to this text is the fact, that the author introduces the three friends of Job, who come and speak to Tobit, in the same manner in which they spoke to Job. The author must have thought these two to have been contemporaries, both living in the time of the first Assyrian conquest of Palestine. He alone avoids the confusion between the various forms of tithes, so conspicuous in all the other versions. He alone gives a correct reason for the sleeping of Tobit outside the house and being blinded by it. There is no trace of the agnate-marriage of which so much has been made by Rosenmann* and others. The men die in the first night only because they are not those who were appointed by God to be wedded to Sarah. We find here the explanation of the mysterious passage in Jerome (vi, 20= Hebrew vi, 15), "In the second night thou shalt be admitted in the society of the holy patriarchs." The Hebrew has, "on the first night, remember the name of the holy patriarchs," which is in strict accordance with the Hebrew formulas of prayers, in which mention in the first instance is made of the names of the patriarchs, and their intercession is invoked on behalf of the one who prays to obtain grace from God. The prayers uttered by Tobit and Sarah are the outcome of that very injunction. Both appeal to the history of the patriarchs, and add: as God had heard their prayers, so may He listen to the prayers of these two youths. An ancient analogy is to be found in the liturgy of the fast day as prescribed in the Mishna (Taanith, ch. ii). There are besides other numerous analogies to the forms of the ancient Hebrew liturgy in this version

* Studien zum Buche Tobit: Berlin, 1894.

of Tobit, which if they are due to the author, and are not later interpolations and amplifications, might assist to fix the date of this composition. As far as I have been able to ascertain, all these allusions and parallels are found also in the Talmud, and in those prayers which form the basis of the Hebrew service, and are not later than the last century before the common era. The author knows, however, also the conclusion of the Amidah (the "Acathiston" of the Greek Church), to be Ps. xix, v. 15 (viii, 12), which may be much older than it has hitherto been assumed. The formula of betrothal (iii, 5–7) is more archaic than that of the actual liturgy, and on the other hand there is a poem connected with it (V. 8) which is an alphabtetical acrostic, and has been retained in a fragmentary form in the German liturgy. As it resembles similar hymns in the Hechaloth of R. Ishmael, it may also be very old. These indications do not allow us to see in our text a modern compilation or a translation made in comparatively recent times. It reflects much more the time when the liturgy had not yet been fixed, and much latitude was given to the individual. The form of these hymns and praises remind one of those in the book of Judith, the Song of the Three Children, and the so called Psalms of Solomon, all belonging to the first century before the common era.

Minor differences between this text and Jerome's, as this alone can truly be compared with it, I need not mention here. They are apparent to every one who reads the translation with the variations from Jerome which I have added thereunto.

The MS., as I remarked above, is very calligraphically written and with some care. The original must however not have been very correct, as in many instances there are evident lacunæ and other mistakes, with which I should not like to charge the copyist, as he seems to have done his work with care and circumspection, noting what he believed to be a mistake, and omitting to write those letters which he probably could not decipher.

In publishing this text I have reproduced it exactly as it stands in the MS., and in footnotes I have, in the first instance, indicated the biblical passages which the writer or translator had used in his work; I have also referred to the passages in the Talmud which present analogies to the liturgical portions, and I have inserted in brackets in the text itself all the corrections and emendations.

Looking now upon our newly-recovered Hebrew text in the light which I have tried to throw upon it, we may confidently assert that

we have here undoubtedly the oldest Semitic text extant—older than Jerome and Vetus Latin, and coming nearest to the lost Hebrew original, if it does not faithfully represent it. I am not prepared to state dogmatically the relation in which this text stands to the Greek, be it the B-C or be it the A version. It is evident from the comparison that B-C comes nearer to our text, but there are so many points of difference even between B-C and H.L. that it is exceedingly difficult to say with any certainty whether B-C depends on H.L. or is independent of it. There are also a few points of contact between H.L. and A, although more scarce.

In apportioning the right place to H.L. in the history of the texts, we are guided by the same considerations which must have guided Jerome when he made his translation. He preferred the text, which was almost identical with H.L., to the Greek. He must have believed, if he had not known it for a fact, that that was the original, while the Greek, in whatever recension, was an adaptation and a revision of that Semitic text. If that be the case, and I am inclined to believe it, then H.L. will be the oldest and best text, and of the Greek, B-C will represent the older version, as Reusch and others thought, and not A, as has been asserted by Fritzsche, Noeldeke, Schuerer, and others.

I publish together with the Hebrew text an English translation and a few notes. In order to facilitate research I have divided it into chapters, following the division of the Greek version, and have numbered the verses according to the division I found in the MS. I have also added the numbers of the verses according to A and to Jerome's division. As H.L. stands in the closest connection with Jerome's text, I print in square brackets [] those portions wherein H.L. differs from Jerome's text, and add in footnotes the variations and the verses from Jerome missing in our text. The numbers of verses as added in round brackets are those of Jerome's version.

I pass now to the study of the other text, no less interesting than the last, but from another point of view. Whilst H.L. furnished us a link upwards, this here furnishes a link downwards in the history of the transmission of the text in the later literature. Dr. Neubauer published together with the Aramaic text a peculiar legend from the Midraš Tanḥuma, the first half of which contains a parallel to the incident of Sara and her seven husbands who died, whilst Tobit withstood successfully the attack of the demon, whose place is taken in this legend by the angel of death. The second half

belongs to a different cycle of legends of which the oldest and most complete version is found in my MS. No. 82, fol. 100*a*, No. 130 (cf. Jellinek, *Beth-hamidrasch* V, 152–154 and I, p. 83–84). That legend was added to the Tanḥuma by the editor of the Mantua edition, who indicates as his source the same work as that given for the Aramaic version of Dr. Neubauer, viz., the Midrash Rabba of R. Moses had Darshan (the Preacher). The connection between these two versions is however very slender. There are many intermediary links missing, which should explain the gradual shrinking of the elaborate tale to a small legend. Joseph Zabara, who lived about the year 1200, and who wrote his "Book of Delight" in Barcelona or Narbonne, introduces among other tales a peculiar version of the Tobit-legend (translated into English along with the other tales by Mr. I. Abrahams, in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, VI, 1894, pp. 522–524). This version, reprinted by Hugin in מעשים טובים Bagdad, 1890, fol. 6*a*–8*b*, is almost a perversion of the legend. The only point of interest is that only three persons are mentioned in connection with Sara instead of seven, and in this number the Tanḥuma agrees with Zabara. Not from this source however did the legend come into the Midrash, but, as we have seen, from the Midrash of Moses the preacher. I have discovered now the exact counterpart in Hebrew to the Aramaic text of Dr. Neubauer, and what is more, have found it also in a collection of homiletic interpretations of the Pentateuch. The MS. is private property, and I was allowed many years ago to take a complete copy of this Midrash. It was then already half deteriorated by age and dampness and portions of the leaves were crumbling away at the slightest touch. I have reason to believe that we may consider the original MS. as lost since. Happily I have a complete copy of the whole work. The original was written in a Spanish hand, and belonged in all probability to the 15th century, if not earlier. The character of this Midrash is very much like that published by Buber in 1894 under the title "Agadischer Commentar zum Pentateuch." My MS. (I may now call it my MS., the other being as good as lost) seems to represent an older and more complete text, as it also contains homilies to the Haphtaroth and to the various festivals, which are not to be found in that edited by Buber. In the contents there are also marked differences, but still both texts belong to one and the same group, having many points in common. In this MS. (Codex Or. Gaster 28), we find a homily for the second day of Pentecost,

the first part of which is a literal translation of the Aramaic text, but very much shortened towards the end. The greatest stress is laid on the giving of tithes, and the history of Tobit is adduced as an example of the grace of God bestowed on the man who fulfils faithfully the duty of paying his tithes. The lesson for the second day of Pentecost commences with the verse, Deut. xiv, 22, "Thou shalt surely tithe all the increase of thy seed, that which cometh forth of the field year by year." The same words stand at the head of the Aramaic text and of the Hebrew. Here the introduction is more spun out than in the Aramaic text, which is merely an abridged copy of the original. Through this official connection with the liturgy one understands the reason why in the Aramaic and in this Hebrew version, which I will call H.G. (Hebrew Gaster), and in Ar. mention is made (II, 1) of the feast of Pentecost. Jerome and H.L. have merely a *feast of the Lord*. It may just as well be, that because this feast is mentioned in the legend the legend itself was brought in connection with the lesson of that day.

Now H.G. follows Aramaic as closely as possible, though leaving out the greater part of the legend; all the minor incidents and almost all the prayers are missing, so that the whole book is reduced to a comparatively short tale. But whatever there is left, is a literal translation which sometimes forces the character of the Hebrew. Thus it proves also the fact that Aramaic texts were translated into Hebrew at a later period, and that the legend of Tobit enjoyed a great reputation, and was preserved mainly through its connection with the liturgy. H.L. is also included in a volume containing all those books and poems which are usually associated with the prayer-book and synagogue service. Through this connection one understands the reason for its continual dwindling in size. It served as an illustration of the teaching of the Law, and was treated as such.

By comparing H.G. with the Aramaic, we shall find that among other things omitted in both is that peculiar legend of the intended sacrifice of the two sons of Sennacherib, mentioned in H.M., chapter I. But the very same legend occurs in my MS. (28) in the homily preceding that of the Tobit legend. We have thus an indication of the probable source of this version (H.M.). It was in every probability taken from this or a very similar collection of homilies.

The minute comparison of the Aramaic (Neub.) with H.G. (for which that is the direct original), besides being interesting as

illustrating the way how the abridgement was effected, is also of value for critical purposes. One point is especially important. When Tobi deposits the money with Gabael he received from him, according to the Greek, *a handwriting* (v, 3) or a *note of hand*, so also Itala and Jer. H.L. has, *a token* (iv, 10), Ar. and H.M. have instead *a bag*, which to say the least, is very incongruous. In H.G. we have *a ring* as a token, which seems to be superior to all the rest. With a slight alteration one could amend the word אמתחת, *bag*, of H.M., into חתמת, which means a *seal*. This would imply that the Aramaic is a translation from the corrupted Hebrew text and not *vice versâ*. But one example alone would not suffice to determine definitely the position in which those texts stand to one another. Without pursuing, therefore, this question any further, I limit myself merely to pointing it out. Many other similar contributions to the criticism of the text are to be found in this Hebrew version, for which reason I publish this also, and add an English translation to it. I have divided it into chapters according to the Aramaic and Greek, but without the division of verses, as these chapters are very small, and it is quite unnecessary to subdivide them any further.

In order to be as complete as possible, I will mention in conclusion another text of the Tobit legend, which although printed, has, so far as I have been able to ascertain, escaped the notice of every bibliographer, nor have I been able to find another copy in any library but my own. In 1851 there appeared in Lemberg a book called Oṣar Haqqodesh, which gives itself out to be a reprint of an older Amsterdam edition. I have not been able to trace it. Perhaps some one else will be more fortunate in that respect. Now this little book contains, in the first place, our Tobit legend in a very shortened form. The text is divided into twelve chapters, and agrees in the main, as far as the plot is concerned, with A., but not absolutely. Without being a literal translation, it is a more faithful reflex of A than H.F. A few incidents are worth noticing, such as the correct Hebrew name Ahmata for Egbatanis; the proper translation of the name of the river, as Hideqel instead of Tigris, though Rage is spelt Ragez, and Raguel instead of Reuel. In one point, this text agrees with H.L. alone, where all the other versions differ. When Sara prays in the anguish of her soul, she says in H.L., "I know that thou (oh God) hast appointed the right man to be my husband, and if it be Thy will, send him to me."

In Jerome we have a faint trace of it. Sara says (in III, 19), "because, perhaps thou hast kept me for another man." In this printed edition we find that she almost expects her relative to be her husband but he would certainly shrink from marrying a woman who would thereby cause his death, and she prays either to be healed or rather to die. Nothing of this is to be found in the Greek; there are also a few other incidents similarly independent of the Greek. I must limit myself merely to point these out and to draw the attention of scholars to the vast material in Hebrew literature which has hitherto not been utilised for a thorough study of the Apocrypha.

(*To be continued.*)

MORE FRAGMENTS OF THE PALESTINIAN SYRIAC VERSION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

By Rev. G. Margoliouth.

Introduction.

The Manuscript.—The four Biblical lessons in the Palestinian Syriac version which form the subject of the present publication are taken from a recently acquired MS. of the British Museum, bearing the designation Or. 4951. The eleven photographic plates, which embody these lessons in their entirety, represent the pages of the MS. in their original dimensions, measuring about $6\frac{1}{2}$ in by 5, with mostly 15 lines to a page. There are 7 quires of ten leaves each. The style* of writing, though smaller, approaches very nearly to that of Pl. XX (representing fol. 34a, of Add. 14,664), in Vol. III of Wright's Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum, which has been assigned to the 12th or 13th century.

The MS. contains a series of Services belonging to the Malkite ritual, written in the Palestinian Syriac dialect, the rubrical directions and several of the headings being in Karshuni, and also embodying prayers and liturgical "formulæ" in Greek transcribed into the Syriac character.

It begins with two Services for the consecration of a Church, the first to include the Holy Table, and the second applying to the chancel only. Then follows a series of three Ordination Services for celibate clergy (1. readers; 2. deacons; 3. priests). Another series of Ordination Services (1. readers; 2. sub-deacons; 3. deacons; 4. priests), occupies the latter part of the MS. Between these two series of Offices stands a hitherto unknown Service, which I have designated "The Liturgy of the Nile."

* For some further remarks on the style of writing, etc., see p. 234.

It occupies 32 pages of the MS. (foll. 27a–42b), and bears the following heading:—

ܒܫܡܗ ܕܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ❖
ܟܬܒܝܢ ܐܢܢ ܐܛܘܩܣܐ ܕܥܐܕܐ ܕܢܝܠܘܣ ܡܒܪܟܐ ܒܚܕ
ܒܫܒܐ ܕܐܒܗܬܐ ܬܠܬ ܡܐܘ̈ ܘܬܡܢܝܐ ܥܣܪ: ܘܡܢ ܚܕ ܒܫܒܐ
ܕܦܢܛܩܘܣܛܝ: ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܡܫܬܠܡܝܢ ܥܐܕܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܡܪܩܘܣ
ܡܒܣܪܢܐ:

I.e., "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever, do we write the Order of the feast of the blessed Nile, [which is observed] on the Sunday* of the 318 fathers, [and also] from the Sunday* of Pentecost [and onwards], and after the completion of the feast of St. Mark* the Evangelist."

It will be seen from this heading that the Service was recited at intervals from about the middle of May to near the end of September, thus covering a longer period of time than is usually assigned to the gradual increase of the Nile water in Lower Egypt.

The Lessons contained in The Nile Service.—The lessons contained in this Service were clearly chosen on account of their distinct bearing on a Service which had the rising of the Nile waters for their object. In Gen. ii, 4–19, is an account of the rivers of Paradise, with one of which, namely Gihon, the Nile is identified; in 2 Kings ii, 19–22, the healing of the water by Elisha is related; Amos ix, 5–14*a* contains an express reference to the Nile; and Acts xvi, 16–34 was no doubt chosen on account of the baptism of the Philippian jailer, with which the passage ends. A fifth lesson, namely St. Matthew xiv, 22–34 (containing the account of Jesus walking on the Sea of Galilee), which was also read, is not written out in the MS., but is indicated by a reference to the Palestinian Syriac Gospel Lectionary (edited by Miniscalchi Erizzo and Lagarde), this lesson being identical with that of the ninth Sunday after Pentecost.

* The Sunday of Pentecost (Whitsunday) coincides this year (1896) with the Latin date of the same festival (May 12, Gr. Cal. = May 24, Lat. Cal.). The Sunday of the 318 Nicene Fathers is the one which immediately precedes Whitsunday. The feast of St. Mark the Evangelist was celebrated on Sept. 23 in ancient times at Alexandria. For fuller information on this point, as also on other matters connected with the Nile Service, see "The Liturgy of the Nile" (David Nutt).

The Photographic Plates.—The eleven plates contained in this publication embody some small portions of the Liturgy besides the lessons themselves, and it will be serviceable to give a brief description of each:—

Pl. I (fol. 30*a*), begins with the conclusion of a short hymn (ܛܪܘܦܪܝܘܢ = τροπάριον), which contains a summary of Christ's manifestation on earth. The first words of the hymn are: ܕܐܬܓܠܝ ܡܪܢ ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܢ. The words occupying the first line of fol. 30*a*, together with the first word of the second line, are: ܒܝܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܢ ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܢ. Then follows the liturgical direction for the first lesson: *ܩܪܝܢ ܒܣܦܪ ܒܪܝܬ ܕܡܢ ܡܬܝܠ ܩܪܝܢ ܠܗ, *i.e.* (literally), "And one reads the first lesson, that which is read from Genesis." The lesson itself (Gen. ii, 4-19) begins with the fourth line, and the last word on the page is ܐܪܥܐ, in v. 7.

Pl. II (fol. 30*b*) continues the same lesson up to the end of v. 12.

Pl. III (fol. 31*a*) contains vv. 12–18, together with the first two words of v. 19.

Pl. IV (fol. 31*b*) concludes the lesson from the second chapter of Genesis, and also contains the greater part of 2 Kings ii, 19–22 (the page closing with the end of v. 21). The rubrical direction between the two lessons (the last word of l. 5, and the whole of l. 6), is ܩܪܝܢ ܒܣܦܪ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕ : ܗ : ܕܐ ܕܐ, *i.e.*, "That which is read from the fourth book of Kings."†

Pl. V (fol. 32*a*) concludes the second lesson, and begins the third (Amos ix, 5–14*a*), the page ending with the first two words of v. 8. The rubrical direction between the lessons (last word of l. 2 and the whole of l. 3) is ܩܪܝܢ ܒܣܦܪ ܡܢ ܢܒܝܐ ܕܥܡܘܣ : ܬܠܝܬܝܐ, *i.e.*, "The third, that which is read from the Prophet Amos."

Pl. VI (fol. 32*b*) continues the third lesson, the last word being ܒܝܬܗ, in v. 12.

Pl. VII (fol. 33*a*) concludes the third lesson and begins the fourth (Acts xvi, 16–34). Between the two lessons (from the last

* ܩܪܝܢ (comp. Arabic نَبْوٌ) represents the term *ἀνάγνωσις* in its liturgical sense, as applying properly to the lessons from the Old Testament.

† ܡܠܟܘܬܐ is probably a plural (ܡܠܟܘܬ), literally of "Kingdoms" (LXX *βασιλειῶν*).

word in l. 7 to the second word in the fourth line from the bottom) is the following :—

ܗܘ ܕܢܒܝܐ ܡܢ ܣܦܪ ̈ ܘܒܗܝܢ ܙܡܪ ̈ ܢܐ ܒܬܫܒ ̈ ܚܬܐ ܕܡܪ ̈ ܝ ܐܢܐ ܕܚܠܨ ̈ ܢܝ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܒܝܫ ̈ ܐ ̈ ܘܡܢ ܟܠ ܕܚܠ ̈ ܐ ̈ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܕܚܠ ̈ ܐ ̈ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܟܠ

the ninth Sunday after Pentecost* (from Matthew). And when the gospel lesson is finished shall the deacon say a prayer; and the chief priest shall say this [prayer]."

The Greek Text represented by the Old Testament Lessons.—The Palestinian Syriac translation of Gen. ii, 4–19, 2 Kings ii, 19–22, and Amos ix, 5–14*a*, as contained in the Nile Service, was clearly made from the LXX, but to the question as to what special recension of the LXX the Palestinian version represents no definite answer can as yet be given, the following remarks being the only ones that can at present be made:—

Not Lucian's Text.—The evidence of the present portions shows, as far as it goes, that Lucian's recension of the LXX was decidedly not the one from which the Palestinian translation was made. There are not less than eight clear textual *criteria* to show that the two belong to two different categories of the Greek version, and in the two or three cases in which the Palestinian Syriac appears to exhibit an approach to Lucian's Greek text, the Peshitta also happens to agree with the respective readings, and the probability is, therefore, very strong that the Palestinian translator (or translators?) used the Peshitta rather than Lucian in these points of agreement.

Relation to the Syro-Hexaplar.—There appears to be a nearer approach to the Syro-Hexaplar in a number of passages contained in the lessons from 2 Kings and Amos, but here again the agreement between these two versions is often shared by the Peshitta as well, and there are besides an almost equal number of instances in which the Palestinian Syriac differs from the Syro-Hexaplar.

Relation to Texts Represented by MSS.—Much less certain, because much less complete, is the evidence as to the relation of the fragments before us to the different texts of the LXX, as represented by the best known MSS. To say that there are two points of agreement with A against B, and two other points in which B is followed against A, is to say very little indeed, and the gain of adding that in one place E is preferred to A appears also a rather slight sort of help. The fact is that the whole question is as yet *sub judice*, and that no definite judgment can be arrived at without a very considerable amount of additional evidence both

* See Min. Erizzo, Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum, p. 143. The lesson comprises St. Matt. xiv, 22–34.

on the Greek text itself and on the Palestinian translation based upon it.

Did the Palestinian Translator Consult the Hebrew Text?—The Old Testament portions contained in the Nile Service supply no decisive answer to the question as to whether the Palestinian translator was in the habit of consulting the Hebrew text in connection with his task. One pretty clear indication* of such an influence is found in Amos ix, 13 (see notes), but in all other instances of an apparent approach between the Masoretic text and the present version, the Peshitta is also found to agree with the respective peculiar reading, and there is, therefore, a strong inclination to assume that the Peshitta was consulted by the Palestinian translator rather than the Hebrew text.

The Lesson from the "Acts."—Much more decisive is the evidence as to the manner in which the lesson from the "Acts of the Apostles" has assumed its Palestinian Syriac form. Acts xvi, 16–34, as contained in the Nile Service, is in fact merely an adaptation from the Peshitta, and can lay no claim at all to rank as an independent translation from the Greek text. In the textual notes on this lesson some of the more striking agreements with the Peshitta will be noted. But it will be useful to print in this place a specimen of the Palestinian Syriac, the Peshitta, and the Ḥarḳlensian version in three parallel columns, as this is no doubt the best way of gaining a clear comparative insight into the three Syriac presentations of the same passage. For this purpose vv. 19–24 may be selected as being sufficiently striking for purposes of comparison.

* Another such indication appears to lie before us in Ps. lxv, 11 (see p. 232).

Paiestinian Syriac.

ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܥܕ ܫܡܝܐ ܟܠ ܥܡܐ ܘܫܒܚ ܘܡܫܒܚ ܘܡܫܬܒܚ ܘܡܫܬܒܥ ܘܡܫܬܡܗ ܘܡܪܝܡ ܘܡܬܪܘܡܡ ܘܡܬܝܩܪ ܘܡܬܝܕܪ ܘܡܬܥܠܐ ܘܡܬܫܒܚ ܘܡܬܗܕܪ ܘܡܬܩܒܠ ܘܡܬܫܒܚ

ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝ ܐܢ

The verses from other parts of the Holy Scriptures which are contained in the "Liturgy of the Nile," are Ps. xxvii, 1; Ps. xxix, 3; Ps. li, 17; Ps. lxv, 10*b*–14; Ps. lxxi, 8; St. Luke ii, 14.

It will be best to place the Greek from the LXX * and the Gospel of St. Luke respectively by the side of the Palestinian Syriac translations, and to add textual remarks where such appear necessary.

(1.) Ps. xxvii. 1 (= LXX, Ps. xxvi, 1):—

ܡܢ ܡܚܝ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܕܐܢ ܕܚܠ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܡܢ ܕܐܢ ܕܚܠ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܡܢ ܕܐܢ ܕܚܠ ܠܝ

Κύριος φωτισμός μου καὶ σωτήρ μου, τίνα φοβηθήσομαι; Κύριος ὑπερασπιστὴς τῆς ζωῆς μου, ἀπὸ τίνος δειλιάσω.

ܘܡܢ ܡܢ = *και σωτηρ μου*, the Masoretic text having the abstract וישעי "and my help," or "salvation." The rendering ܡܚܝ (protects), does not, however, answers exactly either to *ὑπερασπιστης* or to מעוז.

(2.) Ps. xxix, 3 (= LXX, Ps. xxviii, 3):—

ܡܢ ܕܐܢ ܕܚܠ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܕܐܢ ܕܚܠ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܕܐܢ ܕܚܠ ܠܝ

φωνὴ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων, ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης ἐβρόντησεν, Κύριος ἐπὶ ὑδάτων πολλῶν.

Both LXX and Palestinian Syriac agree with the Masoretic text of this verse.

(3.) Ps. li, 17 (= LXX, Ps. l, 17):—

ܡܢ ܕܐܢ ܕܚܠ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܕܐܢ ܕܚܠ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܕܐܢ ܕܚܠ ܠܝ

Κύριε, τὰ χείλη μου ἀνοίξεις, καὶ τὸ στόμα μου ἀναγγελεῖ τὴν αἴνεσίν σου.

The Palestinian Syriac rendering ܕܐܢ ܕܚܠ ܠܝ "Thou hast opened," and ܡܢ ܕܐܢ "relatest," is at variance with both M. and LXX, the two Imperfects of the former being rendered by the Future in the latter. It is not likely that ܡܢ ܕܐܢ is a deliberate participial representation of the Hebrew Imperfect used for the purpose of expressing continuous action.

* The LXX passages are here quoted from Swete's edition.

(4.) Ps. lxv, 10*a*–14 (= LXX, Ps. lxiv, 10*b*–14):—

ܘܐ ܒܝܬ ܢܣܝܩ ܣܘܟ ܙܪܥ ܘ: ܡܠ ܕܡܟܠ ܐܠ ܣܝܣ
ܐܦ ܠܥ ܡ: ܣ:ܟܕ ܩܣܝ ܐܦ ܐܦ ܐ ܣ:ܟ: ܡ ܠ ܣ:ܟ:
ܐ ܡ ܐ ܣ:ܟ: ܐ ܣ:ܟ: ܐ ܣ:ܟ: ܐ ܣ:ܟ: ܐ ܣ:ܟ:
ܐ ܣ:ܟ: ܐ ܣ:ܟ: ܐ ܣ:ܟ: ܐ ܣ:ܟ: ܐ ܣ:ܟ:
ܐ ܣ:ܟ: ܐ ܣ:ܟ: ܐ ܣ:ܟ: ܐ ܣ:ܟ: ܐ ܣ:ܟ:

Ὁ ποταμὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπλησθη ὑδάτων· ἡτοίμασας τὴν τροφὴν αὐτῶν, ὅτι οὕτως ἡ ἑτοιμασία σου. τοὺς αὔλακας αὐτῆς μέθυσον, πλήθυνον τὰ γενήματα αὐτῆς, ἐν ταῖς σταγόσιν αὐτῆς εὐφρανθήσεται ἀνατέλλουσα. εὐλογήσεις τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητός σου, καὶ τὰ πεδία σου πλησθήσονται πιότητος· πιανθήσεται τὰ ὄρη τῆς ἐρήμου, καὶ ἀγαλλίασιν οἱ βουνοὶ περιζώσονται. ἐνεδύσαντο οἱ κριοὶ τῶν προβάτων, καὶ αἱ κοιλάδες πληθυνοῦσι σῖτον· κεκράξονται, καὶ γὰρ ὑμνήσουσιν.

ܡܙܘܢ in v. 10 = *την τροφην* (Syr. Hex. and Pesh. ܡܙܘܢ); *αὐτων* is, however, left untranslated. The rendering ܕܡ ܐ (Syr. Hex. ܡ ܐ) is = *ἡ ἑτοιμασια σου*. In these two words there is respectively a wide divergence from דגנם and תכוניה of the Masoretic text.

The Palestinian Syriac of v. 11 is clearly based on the LXX, though it is free in the usage of the tenses as well as the rendering ܣ (singular noun). That it cannot be based on the Hebrew text will be seen at a glance, though it must be admitted that ܣ appears to be a reminiscence of צמחה. The Syro-Hexaplar translation corresponds exactly with the Greek:—

ܣ ܐ ܣ ܐ ܣ ܐ

there is a "Pāsēḳ,"* or dividing accent, after צמחה in the Masoretic text, and it would, therefore, seem that the division of the verses as adopted in the LXX had some support in ancient Jewish tradition.

V. 13 is remarkable for its adaptation to the nature of the Service in which it was used, "may the land of Egypt prosper in it," being used instead *πιανθησεται τα ὀρη της ἐρημου*, which was meant vaguely to represent the Hebrew ירעפו נאות מדבר.

V. 14 is also clearly based on the LXX, as is shown by ܢܫܩܘ = *πληθυνουσι*, the Hebrew being יעטפו. The Palestinian Syriac ܢܦܩ̈ܘ, which appears to stand for ܢܦܩ̈ܘ, is free.

(5.) Ps. lxxi, 8 (= LXX, Ps. lxx, 8):—

ܘܢܡܠ ܦܘܡܝ ܬܫܒܚܬܟ ܟܠ ܝܘܡܐ ܬܫܒܚܬܟ ܘܢܡܠ ܦܘܡܝ † ܬܫܒܚܬܟ ܟܠ ܝܘܡܐ

πληρωθήτω τὸ στόμα μου αἰνέσεως, ὅπως ὑμνήσω τὴν δόξαν σου, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν μεγαλοπρεπίαν σου.

Clearly a translation from the LXX, though somewhat free, ܢܡܠ being used for *πληρωθητω* (possibly, however, ܢܡܠ to be taken as a *precative* perfect).

(6.) St. Luke ii, 14):—

ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ‡ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ܫܠܡܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܒܡܪܘܡܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܫܒܚܐ

ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας (*εὐδοκια* being the alternative reading).

The Palestinian Syriac translation of this verse betrays, in a rather striking way, a dependence on the Ḥarḳlensian version of the New Testament. The latter has ܒܢܝ ܐ̈ܢܫ to represent the reading *εὐδοκια* of the original. In the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels ܐ̈ܢܫ is left out, *εὐδοκια* being there represented by ܒܢܝ only, and in the rendering before us ܒܢܝ was further altered into ܒܢ. As the Palestinian Syriac translation stands

* The "Pāsēḳ" has, however, been noticed to serve more than one purpose in the Masoretic text.

† MS. ܢܦܩ̈ܘ.

‡ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ = ܒܐܪܥܐ, the ܘ being often used instead of final ܝ in the MS.

now, the only natural meaning yielded by it is "Amongst men thy will [be done];" but there can be no doubt that we here merely have a curious and erroneous development of a word representing the Greek εὐδοκια.

* * * * *

It will be seen that the five short passages from the Psalms contribute some further evidence to show that the Palestinian Syriac version of the Old Testament was, as far as it is at present known to have existed, based on the LXX. The single verse from the New Testament, on the other hand, shows an unmistakable dependence on the Ḥarklensian version, and as the lesson from the "Acts of the Apostles" is clearly an adaptation of the Peshitta, one is driven to the conclusion that the Palestinian Syriac translators were not as ready to prepare original translations from the Greek New Testament as from the Greek version of the Old Testament.

The Palæographical Aspect of the MS.—Some further remarks should now be offered on the palæographical aspect of the Palestinian writing used in the present MS. The letter "rish" is, with very few exceptions, written ܪ* (with two dots instead of one), and the "daleth" is, as a rule, not distinguished by a dot below; there are no diacritic points below the letters, and points over the text are merely employed in the following cases: (1), one dot over the letter ܗ to mark the aspirate; (2), a dot often placed over the ܐ of both the third person suffix masc. and fem. sing.; (3), the occasional distinction of the plural form by the two dots known as "sĕyāmē" (*e.g.*, ܣܣܟܬܐ, Pl. V, l. 1; ܒܥܬܗ̈, Pl. II, l. 6); (4), two dots over the inverted "pē" (ܦ) which is here not only used in Greek, but also in Syriac words (*e.g.*, ܐܦ; Pl. I, l. 10; ܐܓܦܨܝ, Pl. VIII, l. 10; (5), sometimes also two dots over the letter ܒ (*e.g.* Pl. II, l. 6).

A different pronunciation from that of the Edessene dialect is noticeable, *e.g.*, in the soft pronunciation of the ܗ in ܨܒܐ (= Jewish Aramaic בִּיהָא), ܣܒܨ (after ܗ̈ܝ) (= תִּיבוֹל). The theory that the inverted "pe" (ܦ) was used solely for the purpose of distinguishing the π from the ϕ appears to be contradicted by the employment of such a form as ܐܦܠܘܓܝܬܐ (= εὐλογεῖτε) in another part of

* It is well known that there was a double pronunciation of the "rish" in Palestine (see J. Derenbourg, Manuel du Lecteur, *Journal Asiatique*, vol. 16, p. 446), but one can hardly refer the occasional use of ܕ (with one dot) in this MS. to a difference of pronunciation.

the MS., and an unexpected usage of the same letter is also found in ܟܥܝܫ (for ܟܨܝܫ; see Pl. X, l. 11). The present MS. indeed deserves a thorough study from a palæographical point of view,* besides the interest of the subject matter which it contains; and the manner of transcribing the Greek prayers, and liturgical formulæ, which are found in it, also deserves investigation (see the specimen contained in *Liturgy of the Nile*, Pl. II).

Grammatical and Lexical Peculiarities.—The evidence which the Biblical fragments before us afford with regard to the grammatical and lexical peculiarities of the Palestinian Syriac dialect will be found further on in the "Notes on Palestinian Words and Phrases," and the vocabulary at the end contains an alphabetical list of the more important linguistic features of this branch of Semitic speech, which, as has already been clearly pointed out by others,† exhibits some considerable affinity with the so-called Jerusalem "Targum," and the Samaritan dialect, without being destitute of likeness in other points to the classical language which in ancient times had its centre in the schools of Edessa.

The Extant Portions of the Palestinian Syriac Literature.—A bibliography of the "Remains of the Palestinian Version of the Holy Scriptures," so far as they had become known up to 1893, was given by the Rev. G. H. Gwilliam in "Anecdota Oxoniensia," Vol. I, Part V, Semitic Series. The Biblical portions of this version contained in "Biblical and Patristic Relics of the Palestinian Literature" (Part IX, Vol. I, of the same series) published in 1896, are Exodus xxviii, 1–12*a*; Wisdom ix, 8*b*–x, 2; 3 Kings ii, 10*b*–15*a*, and ix, 4, 5*a*; Job xxii, 3*b*–12. To these must now be added‡ the fragments contained in the present volume, and an addition to the same series of works is soon to be made by the publication of a Palestininian Syriac Lectionary which Prof. Nestle is preparing for the Cambridge University Press.

Of the hymnal literature,§ which must have been very fairly

* The earlier stages of Palestinian Syriac writing are exemplified in Plates XVIII and XIX, published in Wright's Catalogue; see also the facsimiles given in Land's "Anecdota Syrica," Vol. IV, and in "Anecdota Oxoniensia," Semitic Series, Vol. I, Parts V and IX.

† See *e.g.*, Nöldeke, Z.D.M.G., Vol. XXII, p. 513–599.

‡ An edition of the complete text of the Nile Service is designed to appear simultaneously with the present publication.

§ Two "troparia" or short hymns are contained in the Nile Service above referred to.

represented in the Malkite communities, only very little has as yet become known. It will all be found on pp. 111–113 in Vol. IV of Land's "Anecdota Syriaca," the codex from which the pieces were copied being the British Museum Add. MS. 14,664. Some fragments of "Acta Sanctorum" and of Homilies, both taken from St. Petersburg MSS., were printed in the same volume on pp. 169–170 and 171–211 respectively. Other fragments of Homilies are contained in the latter portion of "Biblical and Patristic Relics of the Palestinian Syriac Literature" already referred to.

The most important contributions to the grammar and lexicography of the dialect that have as yet been made are Nöldeke's "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Aramäischen Dialecte II" (Z.D.M.G., Vol. 22, pp. 443–527), and F. Schwally's "Idioticon des Christlich Palästinischen Aramæisch" (Giessen, 1893); and besides the other authorities mentioned on pp. 17, 18 in Mr. Gwilliam's first work on the subject (*vide supra*), one must mention the late Dean Payne Smith's "Thesaurus Syriacus," which is, in fact, also a "Thesaurus" of the Palestinian Syriac dialect.

The literature of the dialect is, however, now showing signs of rapid expansion. Each new publication is bound to make us acquainted with some fresh forms and idiomatic peculiarities of diction, and it is quite likely that in the course of another ten years or so it will become possible to compile a fairly complete vocabulary and a sufficiently exhaustive grammar of this branch of Semitic speech, thus continuing the work which Nöldeke, Schwally, and others have so carefully and so lucidly mapped out for students.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES ASSYRIOLOGIQUES.

PAR ALFRED BOISSIER.

§ 1. *Les augures dactylomantiques et le Mené thekel upharsin.*

Parmi les innombrables tablettes augurales que possède le Musée Britannique il en est une qui offre un certain intérêt. C'est le No. 4030, dont M. Bezold nous a donné un extrait à la page 588 de son Catalogue. Voici ce qu'on lit :—

1. Enuma ina reš êkalli ŠU.SI uṣurta palâkat itabbi amêlu ḪAL.
2. Enuma ina napšat êkalli ŠU.SI uṣurta palâkat qibîti la kitti la gamrat.
3. Enuma ina qabal êkalli ŠU.SI uṣurta palâkat ḫabbatum mât úšaddû.
4. Enuma ina išid êkalli ŠU.SI uṣurta palâkat amêlu ḪAL ša mât nakirtu êmuqa (?) ikaššad.

C'est-à-dire—

1. *Si au sommet d'un palais un doigt dessine une figure : le devin accourra.*
2. *Si sur la ? d'un palais un doigt dessine une figure : parole menteuse, incomplète.*
3. *Si au milieu d'un palais un doigt dessine une figure : les brigands domineront sur le pays.*
4. *Si à la base d'un palais un doigt dessine une figure : le devin du pays étranger atteindra la puissance.*

En lisant ces prédictions, tirées des figures qu'un doigt mystérieux pouvait tracer sur le mur d'un palais, comment ne pas penser involontairement au récit du cinquième chapitre du livre de Daniel. Assis au milieu de ses grands et de ses femmes, le roi *Belschatsar* préside un festin dans la grande salle du palais. Tout-à-coup le roi distingue à travers une porte qui reliait la salle de banquet au "*kutallu*" l'extrémité d'une main qui écrivait la fameuse sentence, *Mené, mené, thekel, upharsin.* Il y a une erreur dans toutes les traductions, qui disparaît si l'on donne au mot araméen le vrai sens

qu'il comporte ici. L'assyrien "*kutallu*," qui rend le mot araméen כְּתַל, ne signifie pas *muraille*, mais une salle spéciale dont il est difficile de définir l'usage. Sanchérib avait fait construire une maison du "*kutallu*," c'est-à-dire un arsenal à en croire la plupart des assyriologues. Dans le récit qui nous importe, il faut regarder le "*kutallu*" comme une pièce qui communiquait à la salle du festin par une grande porte. Le roi, étant assis en face, pouvait par conséquent très bien distinguer l'ombre projetée par le chandelier sur cette extrémité de main qui écrivait sur la muraille. *Belschatsar* changea de couleur, nous dit l'écrivain biblique ; il fit mander aussitôt tous les astrologues et les devins, qui passèrent des heures à parcourir les ouvrages auguraux. La clef de l'énigme ne se laissait pas découvrir ; il appartenait à Daniel de révéler au grand roi le sens tragique de cette écriture sanglante.

Voici donc comme je propose de traduire le verset du cinquième chapitre de Daniel :—

"En ce moment apparurent les doigts de la main d'un homme, et ils écrivirent en face du chandelier, sur la muraille(?) du '*kutallu*' du palais royal."

Je traduis le mot גִּירָא par "*muraille*," et non par "*chaux*."

§ 2. Les habitants de Perge, en Pamphylie, adoraient le dieu Adonis sous le titre d' Ἀβώβας (voir Roscher, *Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, page 3 et page 73, où il faut lire Ἀβώβας et non Ἀβωβάς). L'on a reconnu depuis longtemps que ce nom est sémitique. Mais l'étymologie qu'ont proposée Engel, Movers, Preller (v. *Roscher, loc. cit.*, page 73), qui rapprochent Ἀβώβας de abub (ambub) "*flûte*," ne me satisfait pas. Je verrai plutôt dans ce mot l'assyrien "abûbu," qui signifie, "tourbillon, tempête, ouragan." Chez les Israëlites Jahweh était à l'origine un dieu atmosphérique. Ἀβώβας pourrait donc n'être que le dieu assyrien Ramman. Mais jamais ce dieu n'a reçu un culte semblable à celui d'Adonis, et c'est pourquoi je propose de regarder Ἀβώβας comme étant synonyme de Marduk-Tammouz, l'amant infortuné d'Istar. Lorsque le poète assyrien s'adresse à Mérodac il l'invoque comme le dieu fort dont la puissance est semblable à "l'ouragan"*. Il n'y a donc aucun doute à ce sujet. Le dieu Adonis des Pamphyliens n'est autre que celui qui était adoré par les Babyloniens sous le titre de Marduk-Tammouz.

* Qarrâdu Marduk ša izissu abûbu (King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, page 51).

§ 3. Le roi Tiglat-Pileser I (1120–1100 A.C.), dans le récit qu'il nous fait de ses campagnes contre les habitants de la Commagène, nous parle d'un roi *Kilianteru*, qu'il fit prisonnier. Je propose de rapprocher ce nom de Kilianteru de celui d'une ville de Cilicie, dont les monnaies nous ont conservé la mention. Cette ville n'est autre que *Kelenderis* (voir Mionnet: *Description des Médailles Antiques*, supplément, tome vii, page 200, No. 204). *Kelenderis* est la ville de *Kilianteru*, comme Alexandrie la ville d'Alexandre.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 1st December, 1896, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

JOSEPH OFFORD, "The Tell Amarna Tablets relating to Jerusalem and Central Palestine"

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION, 1896

Seventh Meeting, 1st December, 1896.

REV. JAMES MARSHALL, M.A.,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From Rev. R. Gwynne (*Sec. For. Corr.*):—The Tell-el-Amarna Letters, by Hugo Winckler. 8vo. Berlin, London, New York. 1896.

From Rev. R. Gwynne (*Sec. For. Corr.*):—Plagiat? (The "Place of the Chaldeans in History"), by Dr. Hugo Winckler Leipzig. 1889.

From the Author, Edward Sachaw:—Aramäische Inschriften (Königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin). 1896.

From the Author, G. Margoliouth, M.A.:—The Liturgy of the Nile; the Palestinian Syriac Text, edited from a Unique MS. in the British Museum (*Journ. Roy. Asiatic. Soc.*) 8vo. London. 1896.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, to be held on the 12th January 1897 :—

Mahomad Barakat Ullah-Moulvie, Oriental Academy, 5, Bloomsbury Square.

Miss Vera F. Mameroff, P.O. Box 93, New York City, U.S.A.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the last Meeting, held on the 3rd November, 1896 :—

Alexander Snell Cantlay, Avalonia, Dunheved Road South, Thornton Heath.

Richard Cooke, The Croft, Detling, Maidstone.

Francis A. Cunningham, A.M., B.Sc., 825, Arch Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

Mrs. Grenfell, Beach Cottage, Freshwater Bay, Isle of Wight.

Eduard Kotalla, Domplatz 4, Breslau.

M. l'Abbé de la Paquerie, Supérieur du Bon Pasteur, Marseille.

Rev. W. Merrell White, Harrop Edge House, Stalybridge.

Reginald Arthur Rye, Fernie-Knowe, Lancaster Road, Norwood, S.E.

To be added to the List of Subscribers :—

The Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A.

A Paper was read by Jos. Offord : "The Tell-Amarna Tablets, relating to Jerusalem and Central Palestine."

Remarks were added by the Rev. C. J. Ball, Rev. R. Gwynne, Rev. Dr. Löwy, Mr. J. Pollard, Rev. Dr. Gaster, Mr. J. Offord, and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

THE PERIOD OF THE JUDGES.

BY PROF. FLINDERS PETRIE.

As some fresh data have lately appeared bearing on this very vexed question, it is desirable to state the case as it at present stands.

We now know from the inscription of Merenptah that he fought in Palestine, and there crushed a branch of the Israelites. This shows that he did not merely restrict the Egyptian invasion to the Philistine country, and that therefore had the Jews (as I will call the ex-Egyptian immigrants for distinction) been already in Palestine this war should have appeared in the Book of Judges. Not only is there no trace of this, but neither is there any sign of the Palestine war of Ramessu III. If therefore neither of these invasions falls within the Book of Judges, it indicates that the Jewish invasion was subsequent to the last campaign of Ramessu III.

In dealing lately with the XXIst dynasty I showed that the Ramesside chronology would place Ramessu III 1167–1135 B.C. Since then, however, the interval between Ramessu II and III has been further shortened by Bakenkhonsu's inscription, so that Ramessu III cannot be later than 1180–1148 B.C.; and as his last campaign was in the 16th year, this limits the Jewish invasion to about 1164 B.C. or later. Hence the Exodus would fall in 1204 B.C. or later; and this would agree with the general opinion that it was under Merenptah, whose reign I stated as 1207–1187 B.C. It is therefore probable from these considerations that the Exodus fell between 1204 and 1187 B.C., say 1190 B.C.

On the other hand we are limited by the reign of Sheshenq I, which I have shown reason in the paper on the XXIst dynasty to date from 960 B.C. Lasting 21 years, this places Sheshanq 960–939 B.C., within which must fall the 5th year of Rehoboam. As this is independently put at 948 B C., solely from the Jewish and Assyrian chronology,* there cannot be much uncertainty in placing the rise

* For the Jewish kings I here use the chronology of the Oxford "Helps to the Study of the Bible," as giving probably the best version; in any case close enough for the present purposes. By a strange oversight the above date is there misreckoned as 956 B.C.

of Rehoboam in 952 B.C. Solomon and David are each stated to have reigned 40 years. This number is so constantly used as an approximation, that its exactness is very doubtful; so that 1032 B.C. for David's accession must be taken with a reservation of doubt as to possibly five or ten years.

Thus we reach the limits of 1190–1032 B.C. for the period from the Exodus to the death of Saul. These are limits so much shorter than usually supposed that it is necessary to see if they are *possible* in view of the other data, before we consider what is probable.

The reign of Saul is usually much exaggerated, owing to the abuse of the round number of 40 years given for it in Acts xiii, 21. In Saul's second year he was warned that his successor was already chosen (1 Sam. xiii, 14); and immediately after, as it appears, he was tested by the Amalekite war, and David was brought forward (1 Sam. xvi, xvii). David cannot have been less than about 20 years old then, as he was in full vigour as a shepherd; and yet Saul died when David was 30 (2 Sam. v, 4). Hence Saul's reign is limited to about 3 years before David, and about 10 years with David, or about 13 years in all. This would place Saul then 1045–1032 B.C. And thus the epoch of Judges from the invasion to the rise of Saul is restricted to 1150–1045 B.C., or 105 years in all.

Next we take a most valuable criterion in the priestly genealogies given in 1 Chron. vi. These seem to be in a fairly good state, excepting that of Heman, which is badly confused with repetitions and names of late type inserted, such as Zephaniah and Azariah. This can however be cleared up as below; and in two of the families we have names which occur in the Exodus period, thus giving a chain from Exodus to David. The following are the series, with references to the verses of 1 Chron. vi.

4–8	37		35–33		1 Sam. i, 1.
Eleazar	Ebiasaph	=	Zuph	=	Zuph
Phinehas	Assir		...		...
Abishua	Tahath	=	Toah	=	Tohu
Bukki	(continued with		Eliel	=	Elihu
Uzzi	interpolations		Jeroham	=	Jeroham
Zerahiah	until repeated		Elkanah	=	Elkanah
Meraioth	in 35–33)		Shemuel	=	Samuel
Amariah			Joel		
Ahitub			Heman		

Now, Eleazar was in full activity at the Exodus, and married already, as his son, Phinehas, has an Egyptian name, Pa-nehsi, "the negro." His wife, daughter of Putiel, appears to have been a negress, like that of Moses (Num. xii, 1). Abiasaph also appears as the head of a family at the Exodus (Ex. vi, 24). These men were therefore of the same standing as to age then that their descendants, Ahitub and Heman, were at David's time. Thus there are eight generations from the Exodus to David. The royal line only counts five generations (1 Ch. ii, 41–2), but probably some are omitted. What these generations of eldest sons imply we see from the Jewish kings, where we are certain none have been omitted. Setting aside the youthful Solomon, as quite exceptional, there are sixteen generations from Rehoboam to Jehoiakhin, within 952–598 B.C., or 354 years, giving 22 years for an average eldest-son generation. The eight generations from the Exodus to David will thus have been 176 years; and David appointing Heman about 1024 B.C., this would place the Exodus at about 1200 B.C. This is so near the date 1190 B.C., that it shows that the genealogies do not contradict this chronology, while they would be quite at variance with the usual reckoning of 300 to 500 years. That no great omissions have been made in these genealogies is shown by their general accord in length from Levi to David; Asaph is fifteen generations, Ahitub is twelve, Heman (revised as above) is twelve, and Ethan is thirteen generations from Levi. Had arbitrary omissions been made, such a general agreement in length would be unlikely. We must conclude then that the genealogies distinctly favour the shorter reckoning.

Now we come to the consideration of Judges. In the various periods of oppression and independence we find that three different districts are alluded to, and that the rule in each of these neve overlaps into adjoining districts; there are in short three separate histories given in sections. These are the histories of the North and Galilee, the East and Moab, and the West or Ephraim, and the Philistines. It will be shortest and clearest to tabulate these, stating the region mentioned in each case; and building up the successive periods in each region from the end of each history in Saul, reckoning back to the beginning.

NORTH.		EAST.		EPHRAIM AND WEST.	
iii, 8. Chushan Rishathaim of Aram Naharain (N. Syria) rules 8 years.	118	iii, 14. Eglon of Moab rules 18 years. With Ammon and Amalek he conquers Tamar (S. Judah). Ehud, Benjamite, slays Eglon by Gilgal.	122	vi, 1. Midian destroys all up to Gaza, 7 years. Joined Amalekites in Jezreel valley.	121
iii, 11. Othniel delivers.	110	iii, 30. Ehud calls in Ephraim, and slays Moabites at Jordon Ford.	104	viii, 28. Gideon of Ophrah (N. Benjamin), with Naphtali, Asher, Manasseh, and Ephraim fights in Jezreel valley, pursues Midian over Jordan into Gilead. Rest for 40 years. Gideon refuses judgeship. Dwells at Shechem and Ophrah.	114
Rest for 40 years.		Rest for 80 years (presumably including the judgeship of Jair, 22 years, see below).			
No ruler named.					
iv, 3. Jabin of Hazor rules 20 years by Sisera of Harosheth (on Kishon).	70			ix, 22. Abimelech, king in Shechem 3 years.	74
Barak of Kedesh Naphtali, with Naphtali and Zebulon goes to Tabor.				x, 2. Tola of Issachar dwells at Shamir, E. of Mount Ephraim. Judges for 23 years. (xii, 9. Ibzan of Bethlehem, local, 7 years) perhaps with next.	71
v, 31. Sisera smitten from Tabor to Harosheth, mainly by Issachar, Zebulon, and Naphtali.	50	x, 3. After Tola arose Jair, Gileadite. Ruled in Bashan, Havoth Jair. Judged for 22 years.	46	xii, 14. Abdon of Pirathon (N.W. of Mount Ephraim) Judges for 8 yrs.	48
Rest 40 years.				xiii, 1. Philistines oppress for 40 years, comprising, Samson, judging 20 years (xv. 20) and	40
		x, 8. Philistines and Ammon oppress all E. of Jordan in Gilead; and Ammon crossed Jordan to fight Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim, 18 years.	24		
xii, 11. Elon, a Zebulonite, judged 10 years. Buried in Zebulon.	10			Samuel, judging 20 years while the Ark was at Kirjath-jearim (see 1 Sam. iv, 4, vii, 2; 2 Sam. vi, 2).	20
		xii, 7. Jephthah, Gileadite, delivers: judges 6 years. Crosses Gilead, Manasseh, and Ammon; fought Ephraim.	6		
Saul.		Saul fights Moab, Amon, and Edom.		Saul fights Philistines.	

From this table we see that the construction of the periods of the Book of Judges is as follows:—

Judges	iii, 8	North	1st captivity and deliverance.
„	iii, 14	East	1st captivity and deliverance.
„	iv, 3	North	2nd captivity and deliverance.
„	vi, 1	West	1st captivity and deliverance.
			continuing on into
„	x, 3	East	history to end
„	xii, 11	North	to end.
„	xii. 14.	West	to end.

We also see a connection between the several divisions of the country. All fall into captivity nearly together; all are delivered within ten years. A long tranquility succeeds this, broken in the north by Sisera; and later on in the west and then the east by the Philistines. Then with regard to the growth of the Judgeship we see this to have started with Gideon, who had the power without the definite title: for neither Othniel nor Ehud are said to have judged. From Gideon the Judgeship passed to Abimelech, then to Tola He may well have extended his authority to the east during the period of rest there, and on his death we see within two years a new Judge, Jair, in the east, who is said to come after Tola. Abdon appears to have succeeded in the west: and then the Philistines pushed forward occupying the west, and 16 years later the east also. While leading up to the united kingdom of Saul we see a stable period of Judges ruling each division, Elon in Zebulon (north), Jephthah in Gilead (east) and Samuel in the west.

The total period which results from this arrangement by localities is 118 years in north, 122 years in east, and 121 years in west. Each of these periods includes a nominal 40 years; and judging by Saul's 40 years being only about 13, we may suppose 10 or 20 years a very probable uncertainty. We have then about 120 years nominally, or say something over 100 years probably, as the minimum time allowed by the history for the interval from the close of the first rush of conquest to the rise of Saul. An uncertain time must be added from the period of the conquest, between the invasion and the first oppression.

We can now summarise our results; taking the period from the invasion of Canaan to the rise of Saul, it appears to be by—

Egyptian History.	*Genealogies.*	*Judges.*
1150–1045 B.C. 105 years.	176 – (40 + 13 + 8) 116 years.	120 years + time of conquest – somewhat from round number of 40 years in Palestine.

To reconcile the differences between these numbers is hardly practicable yet; but we at least see that there is no impossibility in the generally short period of a little over a century for this age. If we were to attempt to make an average of the data given here, we should take into account:—

In Egyptian history 10 years might be gained at Merenptah, and possibly 6 or 7 years by bringing Rehoboam's defeat near the end of Shishak's reign, while the 40 years of David and 40 of Solomon also influence this; a gain of about 10 or 15 years would be the maximum likely, or 120 years for maximum period.

In the Genealogies all exactness depends on the equivalence of age of the first generation at the Exodus to the last generation at the Davidic organization. 10 years either way is therefore very possible, or 106 to 126 years, beside the question of the average generation.

In the Judges, 8 or 10 years at least must be allowed for the conquest, but we can hardly cut more than 20 years out of the round 40; so that about 110 years would be the minimum.

On the whole I should myself prefer to take 110 years, with an uncertainty of 5 years either way, as the best result we can at present attain. Provisionally then I should arrange the chronology of this period somewhat as follows, always remembering that 5 years of variation is very possible:—

	B.C.
Exodus	1192
Invasion of Canaan	1152
First oppressions, about...	1142
First deliverances	1135–1125
Abimelech in West	1114–1111
Jabin in North	1112–1092
Tola in East	1111–1088
Jair in East	1088–1066
Abdon in West	1089–1081

	B.C.
Philistines in West (including Samson and Samuel)	1081–1042
Philistines in East	1066–1048
Jephthah in East	1048–1042
Elon in North	1052–1042
Saul	1042–1029
David	1029–992
David's organization	1022
Solomon	992–952
Rehoboam	952
Rehoboam invaded	948

But it seems almost as likely that Rehoboam might be a little later, and David and Solomon have the whole 40 years named for each.

However these small differences or under five years are eventually settled—if ever settled—we at least see that there is a general accordance between the Egyptian chronology fixed by the Sothis festivals, the genealogies of the priests, and the history of the Judges when carefully distinguished into its several districts, that is very satisfactory; and unless some very distinct and emphatic evidence should appear contradictory to this, we may apparently rest with a tolerable certainty on the outline which I have given above.

The use of the genealogies was pointed out by Lepsius; but he did not utilize them to a proved time-scale, nor fix the generation of the Exodus specifically. The overlapping of the judgeships has been recognized for long; but the sums of the periods in different districts are here shown to be about equal, so that the Book of Judges consists of three complete histories in sections. The whole treatment above has been worked entirely anew from the materials, without incorporating previous results.

ASSYRIOLOGICAL GLEANINGS.

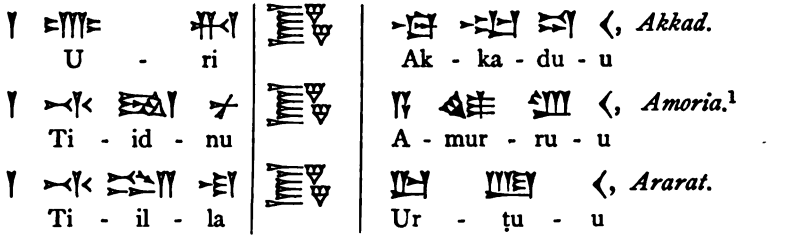
By THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES.

Among the tablets excavated by Mr. Rassam in Babylonia are some of an educational nature, being apparently young students' "copy-books." A Babylonian boy's first exercise in writing was, in all probability, the repeated impression of the signs , , etc., followed by the other more complicated characters, and ultimately by the whole Babylonian syllabary, exercises in writing words and names, and extracts from legends and business documents. The lists of characters sometimes, by filling up gaps in the syllabaries, prove to be of value.[1] It is interesting to note that, in writing out the characters of the syllabaries, the student began with that designated by Fried. Delitzsch as "Syllabary *a*," which gives the values, the characters, and their names; proceeding afterwards to the list now represented by the smaller fragments of the class of "Syllabary *b*" (*see* Delitzsch's *Lesestücke*, 3rd edition, pp. 65–67), which gives the values, the characters, and their meanings. Last of all he devoted his attention to "Syllabary *b*" (the most complete list that we have), which also gives values, characters, and meanings. It will thus be seen that our most perfect syllabaries are the first and third of the lists used by the Babylonian student, and that, full as our Akkadian dictionary is, we may expect further additions to it when we find the many missing parts of that syllabary of which we have now but a few fragments.

I have said that these lists are sometimes of value in restoring wanting signs broken away in the syllabaries, or in suggesting such restorations. Thus, in place of (better, as a restoration,), in line 73 of the greatsyllabary *b*, the restoration

[1] A study of them has been made by Dr. Peiser, who published the results in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.

is suggested (the same characters as in lines 72 and 74). Adopting this, these three lines would read :—



If this be correct (and in all probability it is the true restoration), not only stands for the highlands to the north of Assyria (*Urṭū* = *Urarṭu* = Ararat), but also for *Amurrū* (the land of the Amorites), used, by extension, for the west in general, including the mountainous region of Palestine. This seems to be an additional confirmation of the theory that the name *Uri* (= *Akkadū*), the land of Akkad, was originally applied to a tract, probably mountainous, which was not the Babylonian plain, and in which the Urites or Akkadians dwelt before settling in Babylonia.

81-11-3, 435 is also a tablet of some importance. It gives the Babylonian form of , Akk. *dul*, Semitic Bab. *katāmu*, "to cover," as (S[b]. 1, Col. III, l. 9), but , with the Akk. value of *dū*, Sem. Bab. *tilu*, "hill" (S[b]. Col. IV, l. 9), is . We have also the variant (Assyr.) for , Akk. *udu*, S. Bab. *immeru*, "sheep"[2] (the same, l. 11), and the completion of the characters represented by *gukkal* = Bab. *gakkalu*[m] (from the Akk.) is ,[3] Bab. . 81-11-3, 435 gives also as the Babylonian form of , Akk. *piš* and *kiš*, Bab. *ḫumṣiru*[m] and *piazu* (according to Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, names of a four-footed animal).

In the case of the tablet 81-11-3, 478 (Plate I) the student, after filling the obverse with lists of characters, proceeded to give a list of Akkadian names of domestic animals, beginning with the character

[1] If we may thus coin a name for "the land of the Amorites."

[2] *See* Jensen, *Z.K.F.*, II, 28. That this is the proper reading of (Bab.) is shown also by one of the fragments acquired by Dr. Hayes Ward (Wolf Collection) in 1885. 82-5-22, 941 gives , *immari*.

[3] So K. 6027, which I had noted as being a duplicate of S[b] 1. Bezold (*Catalogue*, p. 756), says it is "part of an explanatory list of names of animals."

, *udu*, apparently = *immeru*, "sheep." This is followed by , *udu niga*, possibly = *immeru marû*, "fat sheep" (see Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch*, under *marû*), and , *udu niga šega* = (? *immeru marû dam*[*ku*]), "a sheep, fat and well-favoured." , *udu mašgallu*[m] and , *udu massallu*[m], are explained by and respectively, groups that are apparently to be read *mašgallu*[m] *laḫri* and *massallu*[m] *laḫḫu*,[1] probably expressions meaning "ewe." The words *puḫadu*, *puḫad šizib*, and *bûru*, probably mean "lamb," "suckling lamb" (lit. "lamb of milk") and "steer" respectively.

The student's second column contains the words for Šumer or Shinar and country, followed by the prepositions "in," "to," and the adjectives "bright," "mighty" and "great," the last being apparently represented either by , or by . Notwithstanding the similarity, this part does not seem to have been copied from the text published in W.A.I. II, pl. 39, no. 1, obv., col. II. The information it conveys is that Šumer was "the country" *par excellence*, *kingi* standing, in the list, both for Šumeri (Šumer or Šhinar) and *mâtu*, "country." The meaning of *ellu*, "bright," for , the second component of , reminds one that (Assyr.) has the similar meaning of "to cleanse," "make pure," and was then pronounced *laǧ*, and that has, apparently, in W.A.I. III, pl. 4, l. 52, the variant , (*mât*) *Eme-laǧǧa*, an additional argument in favour of the value of *laǧ* for , required in the name of the Elamite king , *Ku-dur-laǧ*[2]*-gu-mal*, identified by me, also by Professors Hommel and Sayce, with the name Chedor-laomer. My rendering of , *mât Eme-laǧǧa*, given in January, 1881,[3] as "the land of the pure tongue" is thus shown to be approximately correct, but the expression *mât Eme-laǧ-ǧa* seemingly does not, as I then thought, refer to Akkad, but is simply a variant for , *mât Eme-laǧa*, apparently pronounced in the same way.

The third column has Semitic Babylonian verbal forms (aorist)—*iḳbî*, "he spoke;" *iḳṣur*, "he bound;" *iḳtabî*, "he said;" *iḳtaṣur*,

[1] Or are we to read, instead of these two expressions, *šudri* and *šudḫu*? or any of the numerous other possible transcriptions?

[2] *Cf.* W.A.I. III, pl. 4, lines 51 and 52, reading for .

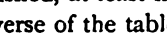
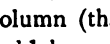
[3] See the *Proceedings* for that date.

"he bound;" *iḳtaši*, "he oppressed (?);" *iḳtaša*, "he oppresses (?);" *iḳta[n]ak*, "he sealed;" *iḳtapap*, "he bowed down."

The last column, which has a blank space at the top, seems to be some sort of an extract from a consecutive text,[1] as follows:—

Mi-nam-ma aš-me-e-ma	What have I heard?
dul(?)-la-ka lâ mar-ku	Thy work has not been delivered (?).
ki-bat-ma dul-la-ka kut-tu-tu	Thou sayest thy work has been destroyed (?).
ki-i aš-mu-u a-la-lu (?)	Thus have I heard the acclamations (?)
ša D.P. *ša-ku a-na a-gan-na-ka*	for the mayor (who) hither
i-ba-aš-ši	is coming[2] . . . . .

Another group of these practise-tablets has, on the obverse, bilingual lists of trade terms and grammatical forms, Akkadian and Assyrian, including those in W.A.I. II, pl. 18, No. 2; V, pl. 29, No. 1 (Haupt, *Akk. Sum. Keilschrifttexte*, pp. 64 ff.) etc. This portion being published, at least in part, I leave it for the present, and pass to the reverse of the tablet.

In the first fragment, A.H. 83-1-18, 1846 (Plate II), the student wrote, in his first column (that close to the right-hand edge) words signifying offices held by men, such as *daânu*, "judge;" *ṣa'ii* or *za'ii*, seemingly meaning the same; *ruḳuddu*,[3] "bewailer" (? professional mourner), in Akk.  , D.P. *tu-igi-gugu* (?), "he who weeps (with) troubled eye;" or physical peculiarities like *šibu*, "grey-haired old man," in Akk.  ; etc.

The second column contains verbal forms, most of them written twice, with one or more of the syllables expressed in two different ways, *e.g.*, *ta-ak-tu-ša-'* and *tak-tu-ša-'*; *tu-uk-ti-in* and *tuk-tin*, "thou has fixed," etc., and the first word, *tad-da-a*, was probably preceded by the variant *ta-ad-da-a*, etc. In some cases these verbal forms are apparently not very well written.

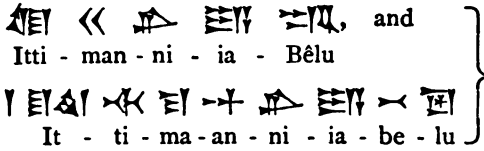
The third column contains names of men, also written mostly in duplicate, and with similar variants, such as *Nabû-ka-ṣi-ir* and

[1] More probably this is an extemporaneous dictation exercise from the teacher.

[2] This rendering is given with all reserve, at least four of the words being very unusual. *Cf.* Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch*.

[3] *Cf.* Syr. root ܢܗܡ—ܡܪܝܪܘܬܐ, "bitter weeping," etc.

Nabû-ka-ṣir; and also a name partly in ideographs, and written out at full length :—



The fourth column has names of women—(1) *Bêlit-sunu*, "Their lady," (2) *A-di-ir-tu*^{m} and (3) *A-dir-tu*^{m}, "mourning,"[1] (4) *Bu'-i-tu*^{m}, and (5) *Bu'-i-tu*^{m}[2], indicating the value of *bu'* for , derived from its ordinary value of *bul*, (6) *Ru-bu-ut-tu*^{m} and (7) *Rubu-ut-tu*^{m}, "princess" (, *rubû*, "prince"), (8) *La-ri-in-du*, apparently for *Là-rîmtu*, "graceless, ruthless, loveless." The remainder of the column is occupied with exercises in the ways of writing the female name *Ša-Nâna-aninni*, "We are Nanâ's," in which the only variant is , *nin* for , *ni-in*.

The fifth (and last[3]) column is like the corresponding column of Plate II, giving, as it does, names of countries, the first being , *mât-Par-Dêsu*, "the land of Paradise," lines 5, 6. The remainder of the column is more uncertain, but the districts mentioned seem to be *mât Bi-it-da-at-ta-a*, "Beth-Dattâ," and *Bi-it-ma-ḫi-ṣi-e*, "Beth-Maḫiṣê" (?), of which last two ways of writing were apparently given.

The fragment A.H. 83-1-18, 1866 (Plate III), has a precisely similar arrangement to the foregoing. In the first column are titles of men in Akkadian and Assyrian— = *ašipu*, "magician," Heb. and Ch. אָשַׁף, and = *nâru*, a word sometimes rendered "singer," but which seems to be of Akkadian origin.

The second column has a number of verbal forms in the second person of the present or aorist. Some of these do not seem to be quite clear, but among them may be distinguished *tultakšâma*, for *tuštakšâma*, secondary form of Shaphel; *tuṭṭîb*, possibly from *aṭabu* "to make good," aphel of *ṭâbu*.[4]

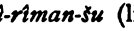
[1] Delitzsch, *Wörterbuch*, *s.v.*

[2] For another way of writing this name, see next page.

[3] When complete, the tablet must have had several extra columns.

[4] Haupt, *A.S.K.T.*, p. 112, l. 18, *cf.* p. 107, l. 19.

The third column has names of men written in two ways. From this we get the equivalence of with , *ri-ma-an*, in the name *Nabû-rîman-šu* (lines 15–17). In lines 13 and 14 a name is given with double and with single *k* (Makkâ and Makâ).

The fourth column has female names, the writing of one being to a certain extent of the nature of a rebus,  = , *Bu-'-i-tu*[m] (lines 6 and 7). From this we see that the well-known ideograph , "side," was pronounced *itu* in Assyrian. Lines 3–5, where the name Ša-pî-kâri is given, are noteworthy on account of the equivalence of , *ka-a-ri*, and .[2] The name seems to mean "(saved) from the mouth of the dog."

The fifth column has the names of countries, or, rather, in many cases (notwithstanding the prefix), cities. The places mentioned are Êridu, Baršip (lines 5–8) three times (not very clearly written the first time), Bit-Aggullu[m], Magganu (Maganu), Par-Esu and Pardêsu, apparently *paradise* (Par-Esu seems to be a mistake for Pardêsu, due to the fact that there was a deity named Esu[3]—"the domain of the god Esu"), and Bît-Napsanu.

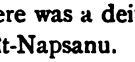
The sixth (and last column preserved) has apparently paradigms of entries in a day-book:—

"* shekels of silver for a *dêpu* of iron."
"* shekels of silver for one *šinû* (?) of copper."
"4 (?) shekels of silver for one *ašraga* of iron."
"2 shekels of silver for a caldron (?)[4] of copper."

The tablet A.H. 83-1-18, 1847 (Plate IV), is apparently the lower part of the above (Plate III), and has the columns similarly arranged. The first column has exercises in writing the word *marû* (? "a fat man"[1]); the second column has variant spellings of the verbal form *taddinna*, "ye have given" (with for , *ta-ad*, and for , *di-in*). Col. III continues the names, and gives a variant for , namely , *ki-i-ni*, in the name *Ê-sagila-kîni-ubbib*. Col. IV has the female names *Amti-Šerûa* and

[1] This character is to be substituted for the of the original.

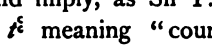
[2] The question arises whether *kâri* is not a mistake for *kalbi*, "dog."

[3] It occurs in the name  , *Abdi-Esu*, and was apparently not a native Babylonian deity.

[4] *Cf.* Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, sub. voce.

Terḫilîa, the latter containing the variant , *te-ir*, for , *ter*. Col. V has the geographical names *mâtu ša iṣṣur Rammani*, "the land of Rimmon's bird," and *mât bêt-Napsanu*, "the land of Beth-Napsan,"[1] followed by *tabirrannātu*^{m} (with , *bir*, for , *bi-ir*), which last word is, in its turn, followed by the variant (?) *birrannātu*^{m} (with for , as before). There is just the possibility, therefore, that has here the value of *ta*, which would imply, as Sir P. le Page Renouf remarked, Egyptian influence, *t*^{ꜥ} meaning "country" in that language, like in Assyrian.

The fifth and sixth columns have the continuation of the trade entries, with the date of the tablet:—*Nabû-šani, zêru šuati*^{m}, *ana GIS-BAR, ultu araḫ Nisanni, šattu šiššitu* (*irbittu, sibîtu*), *Pil-ipsu, šar mâtâti*, "Nabu-šani (gives) this grain as a yearly offering from the month Nisan, year 6th (4th, 7th), Philip, king of countries." It is to be noted that the spelling of the royal name, , *Pil-ip-su* (instead of *Pi-lip-su*), seems to indicate the pronounciation of the aspirate, which is absent in the Greek form. The Babylonians pronounced it, in all probability, Phil'ipsu, the Assyrian characters containing *p* standing for *ph* or *f* as well.

Among other fragments of this class may be noted 81-11-3, 529, which gives, on the obverse, various names of gods, and, on the reverse, various ways of writing names and words, among the former being the female name  , D.P. *Bu-ul-li-ṭi-iš*, variant , D.P. *Bul-li-ṭiš*. A selection of the fragments containing interesting names written both ideographically and at length, will be given later on.

The students seem sometimes to have devoted the last column of their practise-tablets to an extract from a legend, one (which was possibly a favourite) being that of Sargon of Agadé. As there are a few variants, I reproduce the extract here.

[1] *See* the preceding page.

PLATE I.

I.

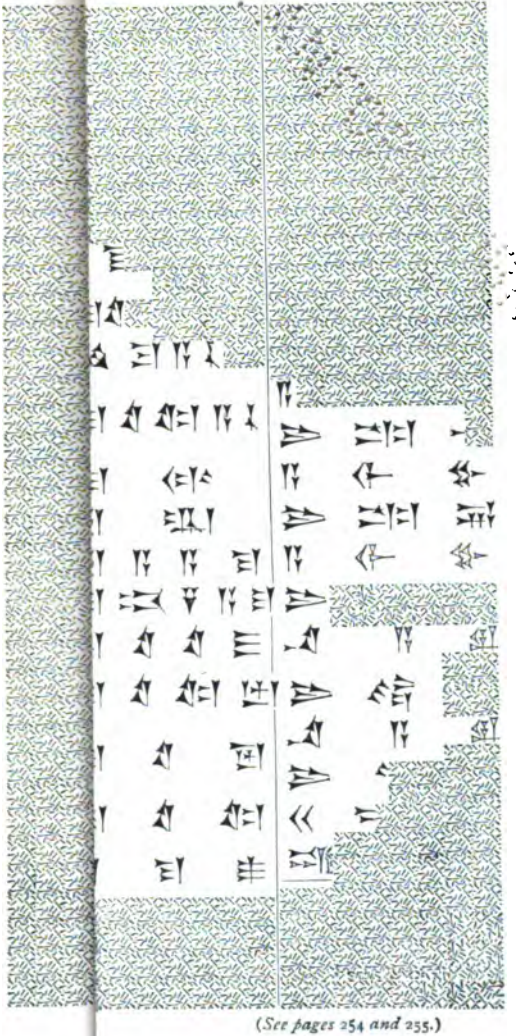
BILINGUAL LIST.

(*See pages* 251—253.)

PLATE III.

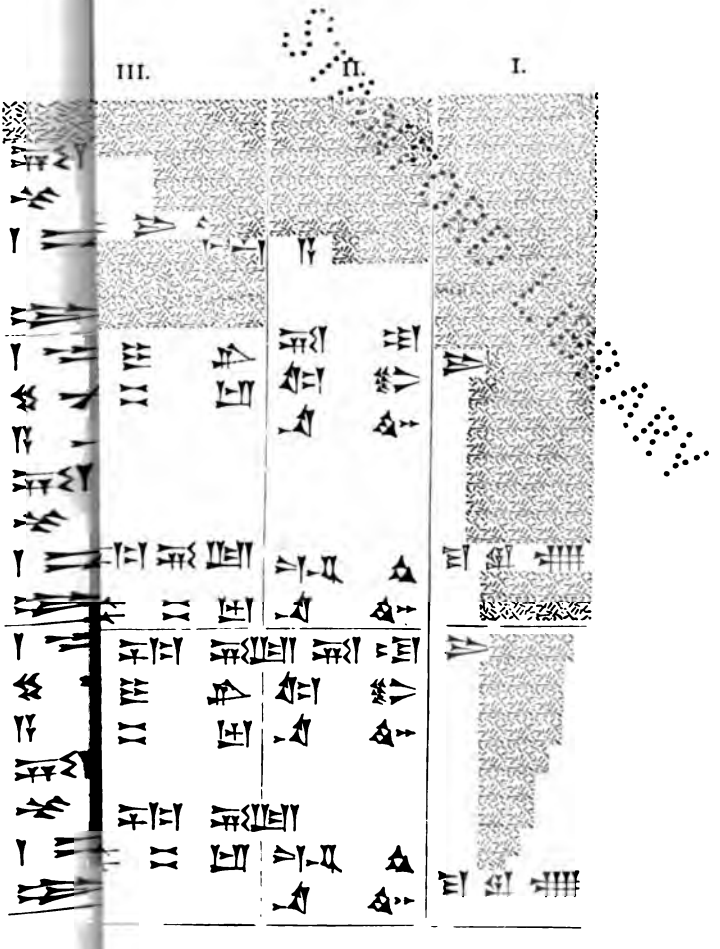
II. I.

ERBAL FORMS. TITLES OF MEN.



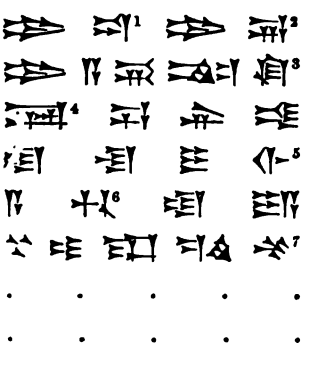
(*See pages 254 and 255.*)

PLATE IV.



(*See pages 255 and 256.*

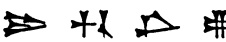
81-11-8, 154, Reverse, Col. III.



Sar-gina, šarru dannu	*Sargon, the powerful king*
šarri A-ga-de D.S.	*king of Agadé (am I).*
Ummi e-ni-tu^{m}	*My mother (was) a lady,*
aba la i-ši	*father I had not.*
a-ḫu abi-ia	*The brother of my father*
šadâ i-ra-am-mu	*loved the mountain.*
. . . . . [a-lu a-zu-pi-ra-a-ni]	*In the city Azupirâni*
. . . . . [ša i-na a-ḫi]	*which beside*
. . . . . [nâr Puratti]	*the river Euphrates*
šak-nu i-ra-an-ni	*is placed, she begot me,*
ummu e-ni-tu^{m}	*(my) lady mother*
ina pu-uz-zu	*in a secret place*
u-lid-da-an-ni	*brought me forth,*
iš-ku-na-an-ni	*she placed me*
ina ḳu-up-pu	*in a receptacle*[15]
ša šu-u-šu, ina iddi	*of wicker, with bitumen*
bâbi-ia ip-ḫi	*she closed my door.*

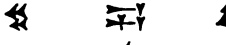
Variants from W.A.I. III, pl. 4, No. 7: [1] , *gi-na.* [2] , *dan-nu.* [3] , *a-na-ku*, "(am) I," added. [4] , *um-mi.* [5] , *a-bi ul i-di*, "my father I knew not." [6] , *âḫu.* [7] , *i-ra-mi ša-da-a.* [8] , *um-mu.* [9] W.A.I. III, 4, 7, more correctly, , *ri* (*ina pusri*). [10] omitted. [11] , *kun.* [12] , *i-na kup-pi.* [13] , *šu-ri* (=*šûri*). This seems to be the real word for "wicker." The Babylonian student has substituted *šûšu*, apparently meaning "twig." [14] , *i-na.* [15] Seemingly a square or oblong wicker box, with an opening at one side, like a birdcage, for which *ḳuppu* also stands. The child was not visible, apparently.

The following occurs on 82–3–23, 4344 + 4473 and 4593. Its exact nature is doubtful, but it may also be part of a legend or story:—



P.D. MUŠEN-DU-U *The bird-catcher*

še - e - ta^{m} *the net*



id - di - ma *set, and*

im - daḫ - ḫar *approached*

D.P. Šam - ši *the sungod:*

D.P. Šam-ši ûmu êšrâa *"My sungod, the 20th day—*

U-mu-ka nam-mar *thy day—make bright"*

The above fragment apparently refers to some superstition that the 20th day of the month (which seems to have been dedicated to the sungod) was a lucky day. A common name (in use before the 20th century B.C.), , *Mâr-ûmu-êšrâa*,[1] "Child of the 20th day," seems also to point to the prevalence of the belief. The hemerologies do not seem to indicate that the 20th is luckier than the 21st or many other days, but the Kalendar in W.A.I. V, plates 48 and 49, gives "Eclipse of the sun" as likely to occur on the 20th of three months of the year. It is doubtful, however, whether this was a lucky omen.

[1] Thus, not Itamman-êreš, as I at first read, misled by the indistinct writing of the first character, being often written for in the early contract-tablets.

TWO UNKNOWN HEBREW VERSIONS OF THE TOBIT LEGEND.

[*Continued.*]

BY DR. M. GASTER.

II.—TRANSLATION.

TOBIT LEGEND I (H.L.).

I. 1 (1)* The words of Tobi, son of Tobiel, son of Hananel, the son of Asael, the son of Gabatiel of the tribe of Nephtali in Galil, on (the river) Pishon, behind the way of the going down of the sun on the left side; and the name of the town was Safet. 2 (2) And Tobi was made captive and exiled in the days of Shalmanasar, king of Assur. (3) Even in his captivity he forsook not the way of truth, and whatever he got he gave in equal parts to his brethren the captives. (4) And he was the servant to the whole tribe of Nephtali, and he did not pull away the shoulder from the work. 3 (5) And when Israel was dwelling in his land he went astray and worshipped the golden calves, which Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, had made; (6) but that man Tobi used to go and bring sacrifices in the house of the Lord, and adored there the God of Israel. 4 (7) And all the first-fruits of his land and his tithes he brought faithfully into the house of God even unto his temple in the third year, the year of tithes; (8) and from his youth he kept the ways of the Lord and his commandments. 5 (9) And when Tobi grew to be a man, he took a wife from his tribe, by name Anna; and she was with child and bare a son; and she called his name Tobiyah. 6 (10) And Tobi poured out his heart over him, and taught him the

* The numbers in round brackets are the verses according to Jerome and LXX; and the passages in square brackets [] are missing in or differing from Jerome's version.

ways of the Lord. And he walked in the ways of his father and abstained from all sin. 7 (11) And he and his wife and son came into the land of Assur, into Nineveh the great city, together with the whole tribe Nephtali. (12) And they all defiled themselves with the food of the Gentiles, but Tobi alone did not defile himself. 8 (13) And he served God with all his heart, and God gave him grace and favour before Shalmanassar, the king, (14) and he made him master over everything that he wished, and he gave him liberty to do whatever he wished in the whole kingdom. 9 (15) And he went into all the towns and fortresses to see the captivity, and to ask after and seek their welfare. 10 (16) And when he had come to Madai he had in his hand a large fortune, which the king had given to him, 1,000 talents of silver. (17) And he gathered a multitude of Jews from his tribe, and he entrusted the silver to Gabiel, and they saw it and were witnesses, and he gave him a token in remembrance of the money. 11 (18) After a long time Shalmanassar, the king of Assur, died, and his son Sennacherib reigned after him, and the children of Israel were evily treated. 12 (19) And Tobi distributed his goods and gave it to his kindred and comforted them. 13 And he gave to every one as he was able. (20) He clothed the naked and fed the hungry, and the dead that were slain he buried. 14 (21) And when Sennacherib had come back from the land of Judah with ignominy by reason of the slaughter that God had made about him because he had blasphemed and slandered, that Sennacherib having been humbled, slew many of the Israelites, and Tobi used to bury them. 15 (22) And it was told the king, and he commanded him to be slain, and all his substance to be plundered. 16 (23) And Tobi fled with his wife and son, and they (wandered about) naked and barefooted in the frost without any covering and without sustenance; but wherever he went he found many friends. 17 (24) And it came to pass that after forty-five days the sons of Sennacherib, Essarhaddon and Sharezer, killed him, (25) and Tobi hearing of it, returned to his home, and all his substance was restored to him.

II. 1 (1) And it was after this there was a festival of the Lord, and Tobi prepared a great dinner in his house. 2 (2) And he said to his son Tobiyah: go and bring some of our tribe that fear God to feast with us. 3 (3) And Tobiyah went and returned and told his father that he had seen one of the children of Israel slain lying in the street. 4 And Tobi got up from his seat and left the dinner; he ate

nothing, (4) but went to the body, took it up and carried it privately to his house, and when the sun went down he buried it,* (5) and ate afterwards with mourning and fear. 5 (6) And he remembered the word spoken through Amos the prophet, and I will turn your feasts into mourning and your songs into lamentation.† 6 (8) And his relations blamed him, saying: Thou knowest well that the king had given out a command to slay thee because thou didst bury the dead, and thou didst flee and savedst thyself by it, and yet thou still holdest fast thine integrity. 7 (9) And he said: I fear the Lord of Lords more than the king, who is, like me, formed also of clay. 8 And Tobi continued to go after the slain, and he used to bring them secretly into his house and bury them at midnight. 9 (10) Now it happened one day that Tobi was wearied with burying them, [and he had not washed his hands nor cleansed them in water after the burial of them.] 10 And he cast himself down on a bed by the wall and slept, (11) and there was the nest of small birds (swallows or sparrows), and their dung fell upon his eyes and his eyes were dim so that he could not see. (12) And God did this to him in order to try him as he had done to Job. 11 (13) And whereas Tobi feared God from his infancy, he did not for all this charge God with foolishness, (14) and he clung to the God of Israel and trusted in his mercy. 12 (15) And the friends of Job, Eliphaz the Temanite, and Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite came to him, and they all mocked at him saying: (16) where is thy righteousness upon which thou trustest, saying, I am just and I will bury the dead and bestow mercy upon them? (17) And Tobi rebuked them and said: (18) truly [I am clean and I am innocent, and my righteousness will answer for me, and we must receive the evil as well as the good with love and gladness of heart, for all the judgments of God are right]. 14 For everyone whose faith is perfect will not change nor alter,‡ and God gives him the life of the world to come. 15 (19) And his wife was wise hearted to work in all manner of cunning workmanship, and she worked for many and she fed her husband by the work of her hands. 16 (20) Whereby it came to pass that every (l. one) day she received a young kid for her wages and she brought it home. [And the kid went through the house bleating.] 17 (21) And Tobi heard

* J. reads: That after the sun was down he might bury him.

† J. 7 omitted here.

‡ J. 18 reads instead: For we are the children of saints and look for that life which God will give to those that never change their faith from Him.

the voice of the kid and he said to her: take heed lest perhaps it be stolen, restore it to its owners, for thus are we commanded by our God, and it is not lawful for us to keep it over night in our house or to take it to ourselves. **18** (22) And she answered and said: if thou art righteous as thou sayest, wherefore has all this trouble come upon thee? Such was her custom to speak every day roughly with him [until he was wearied of his life].

III. **1** (1) And when Tobi heard [all these rebukes] he sighed and was sorely grieved, and he turned his face towards the wall, and he prayed with tears: (2) And he said: thou art just, O Lord, and thy judgments right and thy ways are mercy and loving kindness and truth and judgment. **2** (3) And now, O Lord, remember me [for good and visit me with thy salvation], and do not remember the sins [of my parents], and hear me quickly, and the offences of my forefathers do not remember against me. 3 (4) For because we have not observed thy commandments, therefore have we been made to be a fable and a reproach among all the nations whither thou hast brought us. **4** (5) And now, O Lord, great are thy works,* (6) and thou doest what is right in thy sight. And thou, O perfect Rock, do with me according to thy mercy, love, and truth, and take my soul; for it is better for me to die, than to live. **5** (7) The same time it came to pass that Sarah, the daughter of Reuel, brother of Tobi [was praying to God], in Madai. **6** [For] she had heard reproaches [and contempts and she was despised in the eyes] of one of her father's servants. **7** (8) and she provoked her sore every day saying: woe unto thee and to thy luck, for seven men were given unto thee, and they died every one of them the very first night they went in to thee, through thy witchcraft.† **8** And how darest thou to lift up thine eyes and to raise thy head to speak to me on either a great or a small thing, as I am better than thou. **9** But this was an untruth in her mouth, as it was through no fault of hers, as Ashmedai the king of the demons killed them on the first night, because she was not appointed for them. **10** (9) And every day she used to say to her: lo, thou art unworthy of a husband or to have seed upon the earth, and (10) now thou thinkest to kill me as thou hast killed them. **11** And it came to pass one day that she went up into the upper

* J. reads: "Great are thy judgments, because we have not done according to thy precepts, and have not walked sincerely before thee."

† (8) different in J. (8) Because she had been given to seven husbands, and a devil named Asmodeus had killed them at their first going in unto her.

room and stayed there three days, night and day, she neither ate bread nor drank any water (11) and stood in prayers and supplication before God that he would avenge her [on that servant] who upbraided her. **12** [And she thought to have killed herself if she had not been afraid that she would bring down the gray hairs of her father in sorrow to the grave and that their enemies should not say in derision: "he had one single daughter and she has killed herself"]. **13** (12) And when the three days had come to an end she fell down and prayed to God, saying: **14** (13) Blessed art thou, O Lord God of Israel, who keepeth his covenant and mercy with them that observe his covenant and love his commandments. **15** Thou answerest in time of tribulation, thou deliverest, rescuest, and savest and bestowest benefits on the guilty. **16** (14) To thee I lift up my eyes, to thee, who dwellest in the heavens [for I know that I am dust and to dust I shall return]. **17** (15) To thee I pray now, and before thee I present my supplication with regard to those who reproached me undeservedly.* **18** (16) Thou knowest my heart, that I never coveted a husband, and I am standing pure before thee. **19** (17) I did not sit in the seat of the scornful, nor have I joined myself with them that play, nor did I walk with the wicked. (18) I would not have desired to take a husband, were it not for my reverence for thee† (19) nor was I appointed for them. **20** I know that thou hast kept (?) and appointed another man for me‡ (20) [and if it be thy will, send him to me], (21) for such is the law of the man who worshippeth thee in truth, that his end is hope. **21** And when tribulation and anxiety comes upon him thou deliverest him through thy mercy, (22) for thou art not delighted§ in the death of him that dieth, but that he return from his way and live, for piety averts the evil decree. **22** (23) Be thy name blessed for ever and ever. Amen! (24) At that time her cry and that of Tobi were heard as they prayed together, and their cry went up before God. (25) And he sent his angel Raphael to heal them and to deliver them from their tribulation.

* J. reads: I beg, O Lord, that thou loose me from the bond of this reproach, or else take me away from the earth.

† J. reads: But a husband I consented to take, with thy fear, not with my lust.

‡ J. reads: And either I was unworthy of them, or they perhaps were not worthy of me: because perhaps thou hast kept me for another man.

§ J. continues:—in our being lost; because after a storm thou makest a calm, and after tears and weeping thou pourest in joyfulness.

IV. 1 (1) *And Tobi was praying for his death, and he called his son Tobiyah, (2) and said: 2 My son, hear the instruction of thy father, and forsake not the teaching of thy mother, and bind their instruction upon thine heart. 3 (3) When God shall take my soul, thou shalt take me and bury me after the burial of my fathers, and thou shalt honour thy mother all the days of thy life. 4 (4) And thou shalt be mindful of the tribulations which have come upon us and upon her every day; (5) and when she will have fulfilled the days of her life, bury her with honour by me. 5 (6) And thou shalt be mindful of thy Creator all the days of thy life, and take heed never to sin, and keep the commandments of thy God and his law. 6 (7) Thou shalt surely open thine hand to the poor [when thou seest the naked, do thou cover him. 7 Deal thy bread to the hungry]† and hide not thine eyes from them, then God will bless thee in all the work of thy hands, (10) and he will open unto thee his good treasure, (11) for riches profit not in the day of wrath, but righteousness delivereth from death. 8 (12–14) And fear God with all thy heart and all thy might; do not join thyself with evil-doers and do not sit in the seat of the scoffers. 9 (15) Render to every man according to his work, and give him his wages on the very day, and let not the wages of the hired servant tarry with thee. (16) Love thy neighbour as thyself, (17 and 19)‡ and seek the counsel of the pious. 10 (21) And now, my son, go and ask for the talents of silver which I have left in the hand of Gabiel, in the city of Dago (Rage). (22) And here is the token which I have given him in memory of the money. (23) Fear not, for God will be with thee wherever thou goest, if thou keepest his commandments. 11 [Be not dismayed on account of the great tribulations which have befallen us, for I trust, through the fear of God, that we shall still have great salvation and deliverance, my son; fear not.]

1 V. (1) Then Tobiyah answered his father and said: I will do all the things which thou hast commanded me, (2) but teach me

* J. reads:—Therefore when Tobias thought that his prayer was heard that he might die he called, etc.

† (8 and 9 of J. missing here. (8) According to thy ability be merciful. (9) If thou have much, give abundantly: if thou have little, take care even so to bestow willingly a little.

‡ (J. 18 and 20) missing here. (18) Lay out thy bread and thy wine upon the burial of a just man, and do not eat and drink thereof with the wicked. (20) Bless God at all times, and desire of him to direct thy ways, and that all thy counsels may abide in him.

and show me the way I should go, for I am only one, and how can I go alone to bring the money? **2** (4) And he said: go outside and seek thee out some faithful man that I should give him his hire while I yet live [and he will go with thee to get the money].* **3** (5) And Tobiyah went out that very day, and went [into the market-places of the town to seek a faithful man. **4** And the angel Raphael went out to meet him—he was sent by God to assist him]† (6) and the lad knew not that he was an angel. **5** And the lad saluted him and he asked him: who art thou, my lord? (7) And he said: I am of the children of Judah. **6** And Tobiyah said: knowest thou the way that leadeth to Naphtali? (8) And he answered and said: I know all the boundaries of the lands and countries, **7** and I know Gabael, our kinsman, who lives in the city of Dage (Rage), in Madai, in the city of Nineveh, on the mount Abtanim (C. Egbatanis). **8** (9) And Tobiyah said: let not my lord be angry, I will only go to my father and return. **9** (10) And Tobiyah went and told his father,‡ and Tobi sent for the man. And (11) he came to Tobi and saluted him. **10** And the angel said: gladness and joy mayest thou obtain! **11** (12) And he said to him: What manner of joy can there be to me who sit in darkness [like the dead] and cannot see any more the light of the sun? **12** (13)§ And he said: let it not be grievous in thy sight, for thy salvation is near at hand; thou wilt see again and thy heart will rejoice, **13** (14) And Tobi said to him: I have called thee to go with my son (to) Gabael, who dwelleth in Dage (Rage) in the country of Madai, and when thou shalt return I will pay thee thy hire.

14 (15) And the angel said: Here I am, ready to go with him. (16) And Tobit said to him: Tell me what is thy name, and of what family and what tribe art thou? **16** (17, 18) And the angel answered and said: My name is Azaryah, son of the great (elder) Hananyah.‖

* (J. 3) omitted here. (3) Then his father answered him and said: I have a note of his hand with me, which thou shalt show him, he will presently pay it.

† J. reads: Then Tobias going forth found a beautiful young man, standing girded, and as it were ready to walk.

‡ J. adds: Upon which, his father being in admiration, desired that he would come in unto him.

§ Different in J. (13) And the young man said to him: Be of good courage, thy cure from God is at hand.

‖ (J. 17–18) Different. (17) And Raphael, the angel, answered: Dost thou seek the family of him thou hirest or the hired servant himself to go with thy son? (18) But lest I should make thee uneasy, I am Azarias the son of the great Ananias.

I am descended from a noble family. **17** (19) And Tobi said: let it not be grievous in thy sight (do not be angry, I pray thee), and tell me of what family art thou? And he answered: I am from the tribe . . . . .* (21) And Tobi said: may God be with you and send his angel before you. (22) And they prepared provisions for the journey, and they set out together. **18** (23–25)† And Anna his mother went with him until the outskirts of the town, weeping all the way she went. **19** [And she said to them: May God be with you and give you grace and mercy in the eyes of the inhabitants of the land. **20** And now let thy footsteps be apace to return quickly to us, before we die and go down in sorrow to the grave. **21** And when she returned home] she said to Tobi: what hast thou done that thou hast sent away from thee [thine only son whom thou lovest? **22** If mischief befal him, then shall we bring down our grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. **23** For as long as our son was with us, he was to us] (as one who refreshes our soul and) a restorer of life and a nourisher of our old age. **24** (26) And he answered her: Fear not, my sister,‡ (27) for God has sent his angel with him, and he will make his way prosperous for him, and he shall restore him yet to us.§

VI. **1** (1) And Tobiyah went, and came to the River Hideqel (Tigris), and he stayed there. (2) And he went down to wash his feet, and behold a great fish suddenly leaped out, and would have swallowed (devoured) him, (3) and he was afraid, and cried out with a loud voice, and said: My Lord,‖ save me from this great fish.¶ **2** (5) And the angel said to him: open it and take out its heart, gall, and liver, and lay them out safely, for they will serve thee as

* J. (20) Omitted here: and the angel said to him, I will lead thy son safe and bring him to thee again safe.

† J. (23–25) Different. (23) And when they were departed, his mother began to weep, and to say: Thou hast taken the staff of our age, and sent him away from us. (24) I wish the money for which thou hast sent him, had never been. (25) For our poverty was sufficient for us, that we might account it as riches that we saw our son.

‡ Jer. adds: our son will arrive thither safe and will return safe to us and thy eyes shall see him.

§ J. (28) omitted here, "at these words his mother ceased weeping and held her peace."

‖ Diff. in J: My Lord (Sir), he cometh upon me.

¶ J. (4) omitted here. (4) And the angel said to him, take him by the gill, and draw him to thee. And when he had done so, he drew him out upon the land, and he began to pant before his feet.

medicine. 3 (6) And he took hold of the fish and divided it in the midst, and they ate one half, and the other they made into provisions for the journey, till they came to Dage (Rage) in the land of Madai. 4 (7) And the lad asked the angel, to what use is the heart and the liver and the gall which we have put up safely? 5 (8) And he answered and said: take the heart to drive away evil spirits from man or woman, if you burn it on fire.* 6 (10) And the lad asked him: where shall we lodge to-night? (11) And he said: [in the city of Rage]. 7 Behold [in this town] there is a good man whose name is Reuel, of thy father's family, and he has neither son nor daughter but one single daughter,† (12) and she inherits all the substance of her father, (13) and when you come there, ask her father for her, for he will not withhold her from thee. 8 (14) And Tobiyah answered and said: [hear me, and so may God hear thee!] 9 [I have heard, and my belly trembled.] I heard [from many who uttered slander] that she had been given in marriage to seven husbands, and the first night on their going in to her, Ashmedai, king of the evil spirits, came in the middle of the night and killed them. 10 (15) Therefore I hold back, and am afraid lest (the same thing should happen to me) as to one of them. I am young, and an only son to my father and mother, and if the same thing should happen to me, I should bring down their gray hairs with blood to the grave. 11 (16) And the angel said to him: be not affrighted nor be thou dismayed, nor let thy heart faint, for I will show thee how to drive him away from thee. 12 (17) Know that all these men who were killed were not suited (or fit) for her that any seed should come from them, therefore has the demon killed them.‡ 13 (18) But thou shalt do what I command thee: be together with her in one chamber three days and three nights, and do not approach her.§ 14 (19) And every night thou shalt burn the liver on the fire [and fumigate the bed on which you will lie], and the demon will fly away. 15 (20) On the first night,

* J. (9) omitted here. (9) And the gall is good for anointing the eyes in which there is a white speck, and they shall be cured.

† (12 and 13) somewhat different in J.

‡ (17) Diff. in J.: For they who in such manner receive matrimony as to shut out God from themselves and from their mind, and to give themselves to their lust, as the horse and mule, which have no understanding, over them the devil hath power.

§ J. adds: And give thyself to nothing else but to prayers with her.

remember the names of the holy patriarchs,* (21) on the second, pray to God that good men may come from you.† **16** (22) And on the third night, about the time of the cock-crowing, do thy will with the fear of the Lord, and he will bless thee.‡

VII. **1** (1) And they went into the house of Reuel, and he rejoiced very much, (2) and he kissed Tobiyah, and said to his wife Ednah: behold how like he is to the good man Tobi. **2** (3) And she [his wife] said: who are ye, and whence do you come? (4) And he said: from the land of Naphtali, of the captivity in Nineveh. **3** (5) And Reuel said to them: do you know my brother Tobi? [And the angel said:] we know him (6),§ and this young man is his son, and his name is Tobiyah. **4** (7) And Reuel went and fell upon his face and kissed him and wept upon his neck. **5** And he said: blessed be thou of the Lord, for thou art the son of a good man. (8) And they came, Ednah his wife (and his daughter), and they wept over him. (9) And they prepared a feast, and they killed a young goat and sat down to dinner. **6** (10) And Tobiyah said: Uncle! [I ask a great request of thee; I pray thee, my lord, deny me not.]‖ **7** Consent now to give me thy daughter for a wife [it is better that you should give her to me, than that you should give her to another man, as I am thy flesh and thy bone.] **8** (11) And Reuel was terrified, and he was afraid lest he should die as those men died through her, and he kept his mouth with a bridle. **9** (12) And the angel said: be not afraid, as fortune has come, and in the name of God, give her to him, for the others were not appointed unto her, and this one is appointed. **10** (13)¶ And Reuel answered: oh, would that it were as thou sayest!** [may

* J. (20): But the second night thou shalt be admitted into the society of the holy patriarchs.

† J. (21) On the third night thou shalt obtain a blessing, that sound children may be born of you.

‡ J. (22) And when the third night is past, thou shalt take the virgin with the fear of the Lord, moved rather for love of children than for lust, that in the seed of Abraham thou mayest obtain a blessing in children.

§ J. (6) reads: And when he was speaking many good things of him, the angel said to Raguel, Tobias, concerning whom thou inquirest, is this young man's father.

‖ J. adds, I will not eat nor drink this day unless thou, etc.

¶ J. (13) reads, I doubt not but God hath regarded my prayers and tears in his sight.

** J. (14) omitted:—And I believe he hath therefore made you come to me, that this maid might be married to one of her own kindred according to the law of Moses; and now doubt not, but I will give her to thee!

the Lord God of Israel make their house to be like the house of Perez, and fulfil the wishes of their heart and their desire for good] (15) and the God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob be with them and command his blessing upon both of you. **11** (16) And the elders of the town gathered themselves together there, and they wrote the things down, (17) and they blessed God, the bridegroom, and the bride, and they ate and made merry.

1 VIII. (1) And it came to pass after that, that they went both into the inner chamber. **2** (2) And Tobiyah remembered the words of the angel, and he took the liver and laid it upon burning coals, and the smoke thereof ascended. (3) And the angel took the demon and bound him and sent him into the desert which is before Egypt. **3** (4) And Tobiyah said to Sarah: arise, and let us pray to God to-night, and the following night, and on the third night we shall be in wedlock. (5) For we are children of saints, and we must not walk in the statutes of the nations that are round about us. **4** (6) So they both arose and prayed with reverence before God, [and they poured out their heart in prayer (supplication) before God]. **5** (7) *And Tobiyah said: blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who has created gladness and joy, bridegroom and bride. [**6** (8) Blessed art thou, O Lord, King of the universe, who has created man after thy own image and likeness, and who hast given him from the strength of thy power to know thee and to serve thee.] **7** Thou hast given him a helpmeet for him, and thou hast commanded them to be fruitful and to multiply their offspring in the midst of the land.† **8** [Lord over all, creator of all, mighty over all, who searches all, he is all powerful and exalted over all, all give song unto him, he establishes law and commandment for all, he is good to all, righteous and just to all, all powerful; all give him praise, he sustains all, he answers all, he delivers all the captives, he is just and gracious to all, the Lord is nigh unto all, the Lord is merciful and his mercies are over all; all give hymn unto him, his name supports all. **9** God of gods, and Lord of lords! merciful has thy name been called from eternity;

* J. (7 and 8) reads: And Tobias said, Lord God of our fathers, may the heavens and the earth, and the sea and the fountains, and the rivers, and all thy creatures that are in them, bless thee. (8) Thou madest Adam of the slime of the earth, and gavest him Eve for a helper.

† J. (7–10) correspond in our text to (5–25).

remember us according to thy loving kindness and mercy, for they have been ever of old. 10 And remember for me the pious acts of my father Tobi, who walked before thee in piety and truth; save me and rebuke the Satan so that he should not touch us or hurt us. 11 Give me from this woman seed of men, that our offspring may know thy name and study thy law, and it shall be known among the nations that thou art the Lord and no other. 12 Then hear thou in heaven my prayer, as thou hast heard the prayer of our holy fathers, the saints, the prayer of Abraham in Ur Kasdim, and the prayer of Isaac on the Mount Moriah, and the prayer of Jacob in Bethel, and the prayers of all the just; and put my tears into thy bottle. Let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart be acceptable in thy sight, O Lord, my rock and my redeemer.* 13 And Sarah prayed and said: The Lord, the Lord is a god full of compassion, and gracious, slow to anger, and abundant in mercy and truth; keeping mercy for the thousands of those who keep his laws and commandments. 14 O Lord, thou alone art one, and there is no second beside thee; who is like unto thee, who can be likened unto thee, who can be compared with thee? there is no other save thee, and there is none beside thee, and there is none to be equalled to thee. 15 Thou hast created everything, and there is no forgetfulness before thee; therefore the hearts believe that thou art one, wondrous in all thy ways, hidden from every eye and no eye can see thee. Thou hast been before the world came into existence, and after its destruction thou wilt be, and thy years shall have no end. 16 Lo! the host of heavens were made by thy word, and thy hand was not in their creation; thou didst call them, and they all stood forth; in thy hand is the power and might to destroy them, and to change them and to restore them to their original state. 17 In thy hand is life and good; thou hast created this world to try man by the statutes and judgments which thou hast given to them. And the world to come thou hast created for thy pious men—those that love thee and keep thy covenant—and hell thou hast prepared of old for the abominable and for those who dealt treacherously with thee. 19 And thou art the Lord who hast chosen the seed of Ješurun from among all the nations which

* J. (9) reads instead: And now, O Lord, thou knowest not for fleshly lust do I take my sister to wife, but only for the love of posterity, in which thy name may be blessed for ever and ever.

are upon the face of the earth, and hast performed (wrought) signs and wonders in the face of all those who stood up against them. **20** And now, oh Lord, oh king, full of mercy, give ear to my prayer, and hold not thy peace at my tears, as thou hast listened to the prayer of our mother Sara; when she prayed to thee because of her handmaid Hagar, and to the prayer of Rebecca when the children struggled together within her; **21** and to the prayer of Rachel, the mother of children, who was the barren woman in the house at the time when her sister provoked her sore; thou didst open her womb, and she bare children that are standing in thy courts to serve thee. **22** And the prayer of the prophetess Miriam, and the prayer of the wife of Elqanah, when her rival provoked her sore, in order to make her fret, thou appointedst a son from her to be a prophet, to stand before thee and to minister unto thee, so may my prayer ascend as a pleasure before thee, and may I be worthy of this man, and send us of thy blessings. **23** And rebuke the Satan that he should not touch my lord, and not stand at his right hand to be his adversary. **24** Therefore we praise thee, O Lord our God, for all thy miracles and numberless wonderful things, for heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee, still less is man able to investigate one of them. **25** Who can utter thy mighty acts, and show forth all thy praises; thou art exalted as head above all, and extolled over all blessing.]*

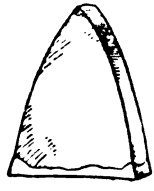
* Instead of vv. 13-25, J. reads: (10) Sarah also said, Have mercy on us, O Lord, have mercy on us, and let us grow old both together in health.

(*To be continued.*)

A STELE OF THE XIIITH DYNASTY.

BY W. E. CRUM.

The British Museum has recently acquired a limestone monument (No. 1163) from "Thebes," of considerable interest. In the first place, its form is very unusual; it is a stele in the shape of a thin cone with four flat faces. Its height is 2 ft. 4 in.; the width of each of the broad faces is 1 ft. 3 in. at the base, but tapering to a point at the top; the width of each narrow face is 9 in. Above the inscriptions there is, upon every face, a blank space of 4 or 5 in.; below, a like space of some 8 in. The inscriptions on the two narrow faces (C and D, *below*) were coloured; the hieroglyphics blue, the male figure red with a blue collar, the female yellow. On the sides A and B neither texts nor pictures were coloured.

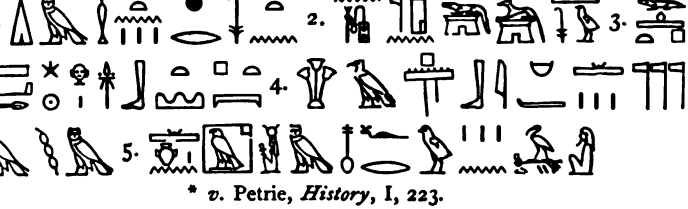


Secondly, the king's name which the stele bears — that of Sbkmsaf II—is a very rare one, hitherto known to us only from the Abbott and Amherst papyri, which tell of the king's tomb at Thebes.*

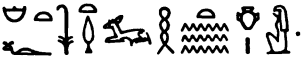
Thirdly, the texts contain a hymn to the sun-god, very short indeed, but employing formulæ not to be found, so far as I can recollect, upon any of the monuments of the Middle Kingdom.

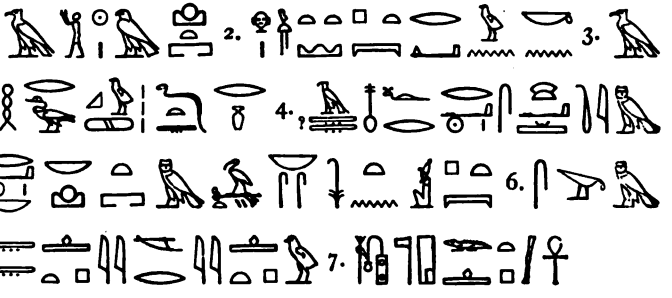
Finally, the unusual manner of depicting certain of the offerings may be noticed. On A, above the table on which lie the smaller gifts, an inverted lotus blossom with long, wide open petals, is suspended, while on each side of its stalk hangs a goose, head downwards, somewhat in the style of those decorated columns which were fashionable at Tell el-Amarna.

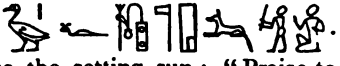
The following are the texts, of which the signs are roughly cut, and here and there ambiguous. Sometimes they are obviously in need of correction.

A. 1. 

* *v.* Petrie, *History*, I, 223.

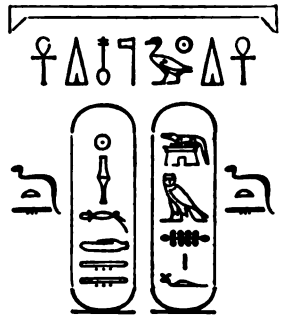
Below, a man and woman stand before the table of offerings, with the inscriptions and  . The first words should read (*Mon. div.*, 27*b*), and show that the monument was a complimentary gift from the king. They are not found thus before the end of the Middle Kingdom. Are we to assume from line 2 that a temple of Sobek existed at Thebes in the time of the XIIIth dynasty? The words *'Inpw ḥtp sw* appear to be a parenthetic ejaculation, "May Anubis rest him!" (*or* Imperative). After the owner's name, *Sbkḥtp*, begins the hymn to the rising sun, which, though it contains no uncommon words, I will not venture to translate.

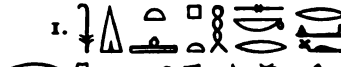
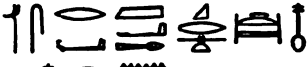
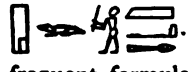
B. 1. 

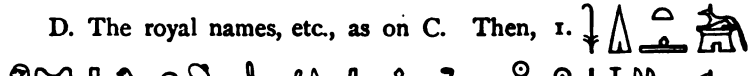
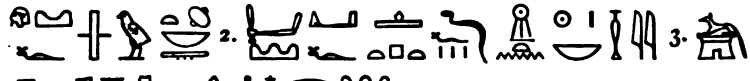
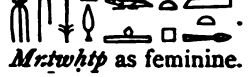
Below, a man and boy before the table of offerings. The man's designation is in line 7. The boy is  . The text continues the hymn, now to the setting sun; "Praise to thee, Re' Harmachis on the west of heaven! To thee is given (? *rdiṯw* *) eternity for food, the ages for drink. The two lands are fair the day that thou shinest as Re', lord of the horizon,† as Thoth, lord of Hermopolis. Thou king of heaven, guide of the two lands that are at peace and beloved (of thee), give peace ‡ to the temple-scribe *Sbkḥtp*." I cannot identify the word (l.l. 3, 4) for "drink," and the signs which come after it might be as well read I do not know whether *r'* can at this period be used for "day." The grammatical forms in the phrases following are difficult to determine. A translation too which would make Thoth a sun-god is very questionable.

* But *v.* Max Müller, *A.Z.*, XXIX, 89, note.

† The second *nb* superfluous?. ‡ This translation requires rather *sḫtpw*.

C. 

1.  2. 
3. *Shkhtp* and his wife. To their names is added that of S.'s father;
 . The phrase *rdif ih*, etc., is the abbreviation of the frequent formula *rdif ih m pt hr Rʿ*, etc. (*e.g.*, Sharpe, 93). The preposition *m hr* seems here to mean "accompanied by," *lit.* "in presence of." The stroke after should perhaps be .

D. The royal names, etc., as on C. Then, 1. 
2. 
3. . Below this, S. and his wife with their names and that of S.'s mother;  . With this name may be compared the use of *Mrtwhtp* as feminine. In line 2 read *m hrt hrw ntī rʿ nb*. In line 3 read *nfrt wrt*.

P.S.—A fresh collation suggests A. 2 instead of *htpsw* with the translation "the temple of Sobek and Anubis—this is it," implying, I suppose, that the stele stood in that temple.

Also, B. 6 is more probable, though it is difficult to see the signs.

MORE FRAGMENTS OF THE PALESTINIAN SYRIAC VERSION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

(*Continued.*)

By the Rev. G. Margoliouth.

GENESIS II. 4–19.

Fol. 30ᵃ, l. 4.

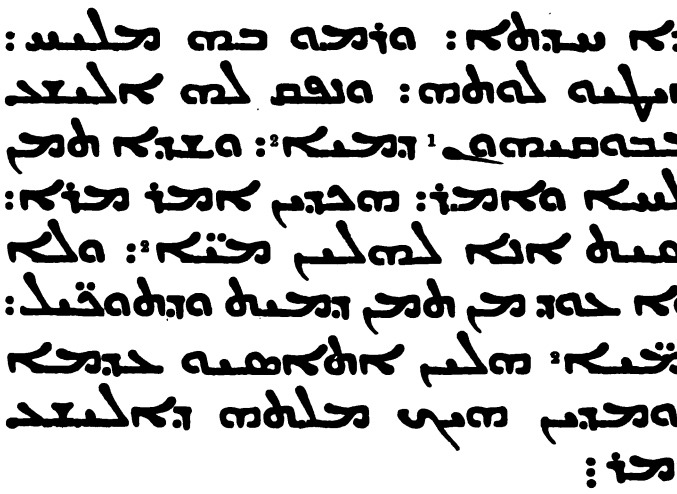
ver. 5

Fol. 30ᵇ.

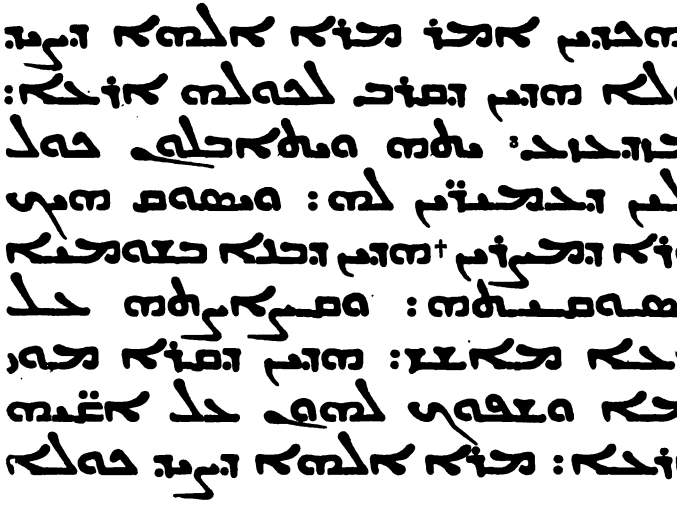
ܘܐܫܟܢ[1] ܬܡܢ ܠܒܪܢܫܐ ܐܕܡ ܕܓܒܠ:
9 ܘܐܨܡܚ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܗ̇ ܡܢ
ܐܪܥܐ: ܟܠ ܐܝܠܢ ܕܪܓܝܓ ܠܚܙܝܬܐ
ܘܛܐܒ ܠܡܐܟܘܠ: ܘܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܐ
ܒܡܨܥܬܗ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ: ܘܐܝܠܢܐ
ܕܝܕܥ ܐܝܕܥܬܐ ܕܛܐܒ ܘܕܒܝܫ:
10 ܘܢܗܪܐ ܕܝ ܗܘܐ ܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܥܕܢ
ܕܢܫܩܐ ܠܗ̇ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ: ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ
ܗܘ ܡܬܦܪܫ ܘܗܘܐ ܠܐܪܒܥܐ ܪ̈ܫܝܢ:
11 ܫܡܗ ܕܚܕ ܦܝܫܘܢ: ܗܢ ܕܗܘ ܡܚܕܪ
ܠܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܘܝܠܛ[2]: ܕܬܡܢ ܗܘ
12 ܕܗܒܐ: ܘܕܗܒܗ ܕܐܬܗ ܐܪܥܐ
ܛܐܒ: ܘܬܡܢ ܗ̇ܝ ܒܕܘܠܚܬܐ
Fol. 31ª. 13 ܘܟܐܦܐ ܕܒܪܘܠܬܐ: †ܘܫܡܗ ܕܢܗܪܐ
ܬܢܝܢܐ ܓܝܚܘܢ: ܗܢ ܕܗܘ ܕܡܚܕܪ
14 ܠܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܟܘܫ: ܘܫܡܗ
ܕܢܗܪܐ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܐܕܩܠܬ: ܗܢ ܕܗܘ
ܐܙܠ ܠܘܩܒܠ ܐܬܘܪ: ܘܢܗܪܐ
15 ܪܒܝܥܝܐ ܗܘ ܦܪܬ: ܘܢܣܒ ܡܪܝܐ
ܐܠܗܐ ܠܒܪܢܫܐ ܐܕܡ ܕܓܒܠ: ܘܐܫܟܢ
ܒܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܕܥܕܢ: ܕܢܗܘܐ ܦܠܚ
16 ܠܗ ܘܢܛܪ ܠܗ: ܘܦܩܕ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ

[1] Originally ܘܐܫܟܢ; see note.
[2] I.e. Εὐειλατ = חוילה.

ܠ ܐ ܡ ܐ ܕ ܒ ܐ ܕ ܒ ܐ ܕ ܒ



AMOS IX. 5–14 a.



[1] See note.

[2] It will be noticed that the MS. is not quite regular in the use of the 'sĕyāmē.'

[3] See note.

7 ... ...
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8 ... ... Fol. 32b.
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9 ... ...
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10 ... ...
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11 ... ...
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... ...

[1] Originally ...

[2] For ...? Note the form of the 'ḥeth' in the original (Pl. VI. l. 7).

[3] For ...

ܐܬܐ ܗܠܟ ܠܟ ܀ ܟܬܒ ܐܓܪ ,ܡܐܡܪ 12
ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܗܐ ܟܝܢ ܕܥ
ܟܝ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܗ ,ܐܢ ,ܐܫܬܟ
ܒܫܐ ܟܐ ܀ ܠܐ ܐܫܬ ܒܝܬ 13
ܟܐ ܕܐܫܬ ܟܝ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܟܐܝ
ܐܝܪܐ ܀ ܟܐ ܠܐ ܐܠܗ ܀ ܐܠܗ
ܟܝܢ ܐܫܬ ܟܐ ܐܢ ܟܐ
ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܟܐ ܐܢ ܟܐ
܀ ܐܫ ܒܐ ܟܠ ܐܠܗ ܐܠ
ܐܠ ܐܫܬ ܟܐ ܐܢ ܟܐ 14
܀ ܐܝܢ

ACTS XVI. 16–34.

Fol. 33ª, l. 4 from bottom. ܀ ܐ ܀ ܟܐ ܐܠ ܐ ,ܐ ܐܠ
܀ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܟܐ ܐܢ ܐܠ
ܟ ܐ ܐܠ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
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Fol. 33ᵇ. ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ †
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31 ܡܢܡ : ܡ ܡܝܬܪ ܟܕܡ ܐܡܡ
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32 ܡܬ ܐܠܒ : ܥܕܬ ܡܒܟ ܕܡ † Fol. 35a.
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33 ܡ ܟܕܒܫ ܡܒ : ܡܕܫܡ
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ܫܠܥ ܡܕܫܬ : ܐܡܕ
34 ܫܡ ܬ : ܐܡܠ ܡܕܫܡ
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TRANSLATION.

Gen. ii, 4–19.

V. 4. This is the book of the creation of heaven and earth, when the day was on which the Lord God made heaven and earth.

V. 5. And no green thing of the field was yet upon the earth, and no herb of the earth had yet sprung up; for the Lord God had not caused rain to rain upon the face of the earth, and there was no man that he should till the earth.

V. 6. But a well was rising up from the earth, and was watering the whole face of the earth.

V. 7. And the Lord God formed the man Adam of the dust of the earth, and he blew into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man Adam became a living soul.

V. 8. And the Lord God planted a paradise in Eden in front on the east side, and he placed there the man Adam whom he had formed.

V. 9. And the Lord God caused again to grow every tree that is pleasing for sight and good for eating; and the tree of life in the middle of the paradise, and the tree of understanding the knowledge of good and evil.

V. 10. And a river was issuing from Eden that it may water the paradise, and from thence it divided [itself], and became into four heads.

V. 11. The name of one is Pison; this is it which encircles the whole land of Ōlōt, where there is gold.

V. 12. And the gold of that land is good, and there is the carbuncle and the emerald.

V. 13. And the name of the second river is Gihon; this is it which encircles the whole land of Cush.

V. 14. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel; this is it which goes in the direction of the Syrians; and the fourth river is the Euphrates.

V. 15. And the Lord God took the man Adam whom he had formed, and he placed him into the paradise of Eden that he should dress it and keep it.

V. 16. And the Lord God commanded Adam and said unto him, Of all the trees that are in the paradise eating mayest thou eat.

V. 17. But of the tree of understanding the knowledge of good

and evil, thou shalt not eat of it; for on the day on which thou eatest thereof dying shalt thou die.

V. 18. And the Lord God said, that behold it is not good that the man Adam should be alone, but let us make him a helper like unto him.

V. 19. And the Lord formed again from the earth every beast of the field, and every fowl of heaven, and he brought them to Adam that he may see what he would call them, and everything that Adam called them a living soul that was its name.*

* The above is the "verbatim" rendering of the latter part of the verse; the meaning appears to be "and whatsoever Adam called every living creature that was its name."

(*To be continued.*)

The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 12th January, 1897, at 8 p.m., when the usual business will be transacted.

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